H. Γ. M.

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பாதுகாப்பு பிரிவு - 1

செப்பனிடுபவர் பெயர் ரா. கையல்நாய்கி

செப்பனிடுவதற்காக எடுத்துக் கொள்ளப்பட்ட நாள் 2/2007

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14/6/07 19/6/07 15/6/07

சரிபார்க்கும் முதல் மு. நி. பா. எ. கையொப்பம்

சரிபார்க்கும் 2ம் நி. பா. எ. கையொப்பம்

ஆராய்ச்சி உதவியாளர் கையொப்பம்

HFM No:- 82

Bundle No. 22(?)

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HISTORY OF KHILAFAT MOVEMENT IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Extracts from Secret Files on Turkish Peace Terms and Mohammedan agitation.

Secret File No: 307 dated 1-10-1920 - Volume VII

visit of Gandhi and Shamkat Ali to Madras 1920 -

Serial Number 130-

THE MUHAMMADAN.

VASCILLATION?

There is we note, a disposition among a few Muslims in the city to postpone the bringing into effect of the non-co-operation programme till after the special Congress had given its decision. We are anablo to understnad this attitude of suicidal vascillation. For one thing, what has the Special Congress to do with our decision? It is a non-religious political body which may at best back us up in our efforts to get justice done to the Khalifa but cannot given and is not competent to give, we submit with all respect a decision as our religious duty towards the Khilafat. That decision properly rests with our Ulemas and scholars, and they have given it as their considered opinin that the injuctions of the Holy Quran and Shariyat are absolutely clear as to the need for our action on the lines of the Allahabad decision. We submit our brethren are bound by that decision and that their duty is to stick to it with truly religious firmness and not to attempt to do anything which may be interpreted as being an effort to get round it.

Our duty is the more clear in regard to this question because the call has come to us from the Hindus to take the initaative ourselves. Mr. Tilak has said so and so are many others now doing. Shall we then disregard that call,

shirk our duty both towards Islam and to our Hindu brethren and make it appear that we are a vascillating brood a house divided against itself? We hope our brethren will not give any room for other communities to make ou that all our professions of unshakeable determination to see justice done to the Khilafat are mere bluff and empty nothingness. Any attempt to postpone giveng effect to our considered decisions at allahabdad will as sure as anything, be interpreted in unfriendly quarters as a clever move effected to back out of an impossible and unsincere situation. To do so will cerainly afford merriment for Anglo-India and our other enemies, but it cannot in any way help us in gaining our object. A too eager readiness to postpone an affair is not a sign of that affair being either urgent or important; and any vascillation on our part to resort to action will only make ohters discount our earnestness in the matter.

We have heard it said that our province is not yet ready for the adoption of the programme. We do not know what readiness in this matter e-xactly means. Perhaps it means that we have not done suffieient propaganda work to have for us a sympathetic and earnest background for our activities. If so who is to blame for that? Certainly, not our people for we know they feel as intensely in the matter asany one of us. The fault lies with the leaders. Why did they not do propaganda work? That matter apart, is it really impossible to put the Allahabad decision in operation without such preparedness? We do not think so. For we firmly believe that for every one sincere worker who puts the decision into practice, there will arise in the country a hundred or more followers who

in their turn will become inspiring models for others like them. Provide the torch of initiative and then will be lit the immerable lamps of non-co-operators in the country who, without such lighting tonch, will necessarily have to languish in and by inactibity. Enthusiasm begets enthusiasm, earnestness induces earnestness and sincerity is rewarded with sincere followers so have we been and such is our experience.

What then, is our duty? The time has long gone by when we might have been content with mere verbal protests. Prompt action is of the essence of our success. for let not Muslims forget that the doom of the Khilafat has probably been pronounced by the Big Two some days before these lines were penned. The fatal 14th of July when the Allies are to have replied to the second Turkish Note has passed by. If we mean really making an effort to save the Khilafat let us do it in time. The time for it has come; and the danger is it may be gone before we do anything tangible and hence useful. Shall we then instead of acting and acting vigorously, wrangel over the question of the post-ponement of that already mcuh delayed action by a few more days? We know of no useful prupose that will be served by such postponement. We know equally well that irreparable harm may result thereby; for while it may be possible to influence a treaty in a liquid state, it may take years, not to speak of greater sacrifices than those now involved, if at all our persistence in unsettling a settled factcan be guranteed for us to re arrange the arrangement of a treaty accepted by the nations. Is it, then wise now to throw across the community the redherring of postponement of the operation of the Allahabad decision sunder it into different parties

and thus make it impossible for us to save the Khilafat? We do not think so; and we hope those who think otherwise will now at least consider all the aspects of the problem and resolutely adhere to the Allahabad decision. The path of sacrifice the nearer it comes to us becomes the more painful; the path of pleasure proportionately more pleasant. We know it needs a hero to choose the former; but are not these the times when every Muslim, if he is really true to his religion ought to be and may easily be a hero in himself? Let him whose heart seems to fail him boar this in mind and then will be granted to him boar this in mind and then will be granted to him that strength of mind and that courage of convition which in movements of weakness human as we are we may ever one of us be lacking in. So may we avert "too late being the inexorable inscription writ on our activity by the hand of Time.

Copy of a D.O. letter No. 215 M/S.F.249 dated the 21st May 1920 from the Personal Asst. to the D.I.G. of Police, Railways and C.I.D. Madras to the Dy: Director, Central Intelligence, Simla.

~~Old~~ The Madras Government have decided to take steps to check openly seditious speeches which may be delivered in connection with the Khilafat agitation and to take immediate proceedings under the Criminal Law against any agitator whose speech renders him liable to prosecution. Some of the speeches are in Urdu and we have no Urdu shorthand reporters I am therefore directed to ask you if you can kindly arrange to send to Madras two Urdu short-hand SubInspectors for duty in this Presidency. The Matter is very urgent and important.

No. 907
S.F. 235/5
From the Spl. Branch
C.I.D.
Dt 27th May 1920

Copy of a report No. 1581 I.D. dated the 26th July 1920, from the Commissioner of Police Madras regarding the Khilafat agitation.

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Under the auspices of the Khilafat Committee a mass meeting was held on the beach opposite to the Presidency College at about 6 P.M. on 25-7-20.

The Muslim leaders including Khuddos Badsha Sahib and Moulana Sharar of the "Quami Report" were conspicuous by their absence. No Muhammadan of importance attended the meeting. Even the Hindu leaders were absent. Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar was the only Hindu gentleman of note that put in an appearance;

Mr. Yakub Hasan was the first speaker.

He then dilated upon the letter sent to the Viceroy by the All-Indian Khilafat Committee and explained the contents of the letter. He then says that judging from the manner in which the English had disregarded the religious feelings and sentiments of the Mussalmans, the English nation had to be treated as the enemies of Islam and that the duties Quoran imposes on the Muslims in dealing with the enemies of Islam should have to be obeyed and carried out and that Jehad was to be proclaimed But he said that the leaders of Indian thought have decided not to have recourse to this religious duty, but to use a stronger weapon than (sic)
the sword by resorting to (sic) - non co-operation.

He then said (sic)
rulingxxxx (sic)

He went on saying that the English nation has proved unworthy of the turst reposed in them by the Indians that the broken pledges of the Prime Minister, the massacre at Jallianwall, the support, the perpetrator

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of this act, General Dyer, had received in the House of Lords which has held his conduct to be justifiable and the enormous sums that are being raised for the Dyer Fund prove beyond doubt that the nation is not ture to its word that it has no sympathy for us and that it has lost the sense of justice. Then he questioned if we are to co-operate with a nation which carries on its Government with these principles and said that we cannot consistently with our self-respect participate in a Government like this. He then said that there were very few Englishmen in the Districts Carrying on administration and that a large number of the Government servants were Indians. He said that this was the case not only in the ministerial and executive branches (sic)
public service but also in the ~~(sic)~~ Police Service and Military
and that if (sic) all
~~work of (sic)~~.

He exhorted the audience specially the Mussalman portion of it to be firm and self-sacrificing and to take no account of the honours which were after all empty.

He then said that we need not wait for the decision of the Special Congress, that the Mussalmans have to give a lead in a matter which is of peculiar interest to them and that all the Provincial Conferences having passed the non-co-operation resolution, the Special Congress also will pass such a resolution.

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NO908
S.F 235/5
Spl Branch
CID
27th May '20

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Copy of a report No.1582 I.D., dated the 26th July 1920 from the Commissioner of Police, Madras regarding the Khilafat agitation.

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X The adjourned meeting of the Madras Khilafat Council was held in the Committee premises on the Broadway on the 22nd instant to consider the question of working up the non-co-operation from the 1st of August. Mr. Yakub Hasan presided. It was proposed that the Madras Khilafat Committee should bring into force the resolution of the All-India Khilafat Committee to put in operation non-co-operation from the 1st of August as suggested by Mr. Ghandi. Mr. Khuddoos Badsha Sahib was opposed to it and said that the Madras Presidency was not yet prepared for it and that it should be postponed for a future date. Votes were taken; 7 persons voted in favour of the resolution and 5 against (sic)

therefore resolved (sic)

All- (sic)

propaganda from the 1st of August.

Muhammadan opinion is divided on this question. Majority are of opinion that the scheme of non-co-operation is unworkable and is fraught with evil consequences; but a few led by Mr. Yakub Hasan want to work it up at all costs There will be a meeting on the beach on the 1st of August and the day will be observed as the third Khilafat day by observing hartal and by offering special prayers in all the mosques. It is expected that on this day all the title-holders will renounce their titles-holders will renounce their titles and the men holding honorary posts will give up the posts. I have gauged the public opinion and had the opinion of all the title-holders taken. Not one till now is prepared to renounce his tile. It is likely

pressure will be brought to bear on some of the title-holders by the Khilafat agitators of the extreme school. Mr. Khuddoos Badsha does not want to renounce his title and is exerting his best to see that the catastrophe is not reached.

It is learnt that Mr. Khuddoos Badsha has again wtitten to Mr. Shaukat Ali bringing to his notice the unpreparedness of Madras to participate in the Khilafat agittion to the same extent as in other parts of India.

Mr. Abdul Majid Sharar of the "Quami Report" is not in favour of bringing into operation the non-co-operation on the 1st of August. He holds that the decision of the Special Congress and the All-India Muslim League should be awaited and that nothing should be done till the Hindus decide in one way or other as regardsthe working up of the propaganda. He is writing in his paper dissuading Mussalmans from joining the Khilafat Committee in it s attempt to hasten up the issue. The whole question is exercising (sic)
of the Muslim leaders and the (sic)

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No. 909
SF 235/5
From the Special Branch C.I.D. dated 27th Aug 1920

Copy of a report No. 1584. I.B., dated the 26th July 1920, from the Commissioner of Police, Madras regarding the Khilafat agitation.

* * * *

Mr. Nather and Mr. Saiyid Usuf an behalf of the Khilafat Committee called on 'Shamshul Ulma' Saiyid Zahid Husain Sahib and asked him to renounce his title of "Shamshul-Ulma" but it appears that the old gentleman replied that he would renounce the title only if they would pay him Rs. 1000/- in lieu of Rs.100/- per annum he gets from the Government.

Mr. Khuddus Badsha Sahib Has been asked to renounce the title of 'Khan Bahadur'. This gentleman does not want to renounce the title and has not given any reply.

Extracts from a report from an officer of this department dated the 29th July 1920, regarding Non-co-operation in continuation of No.853 C, dated the 13th July 1920 are submitted.

* * * *

The Khilafat Committee meeting held last evening decided that the 1st August should be observed as the 3rd Khilafat Day, but the renunciation of the titles and honorary posts be postponed to a later date which will be fixed by the Khilafat committee after the masses are educated on the subject. Vigorous arrangements are being made to carry out theis propaganda.

Khan Bahadur Abdul Khuddoos Badsha, President of the Khilafat Committee, was not prepared to give up his title on the 1st August and took shelter under the opposition of Sharar and others and supported the proposal of postponement (it is an open secret that he was at the back of Sharar in the matter of postponement).

Yakub Hasan and his party have told Khuddoos Badsha that in deference to his wishes non-co-operation is postponed and he must bring no more excuses when at a later date the Khilafat Committee calls on him to renounce his title. He is now in a fix. He thought that the gulf between the two Khilafat Parties would conveniently help him to retain his title. Left to himself he will certainly not give it up.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

Report No. 1644/I.D./20. dated the 2nd August 1920.

Abstract.

Report of an officer of the City Intelligence Department, Madras, as to what extent hartal was observed in the City of Madras on the third Khilafat day (1st August 1920.)

Report.

Khilafat Agitation. Yesterday, the 1st of August there was hartal through the city. On account of the fact that this day happened to be a Sunday, the extent to which hartal was observed could not be rightly judged. In Triplicane and Royapettah almost all the shops were closed. In Georgetown also, all the shops except fruit stalls and betel shops were closed.

A few processions started from Periamet, Pudupet, Jam Bazzar Triplicane and Groerge town at about 4.30 p.m. and reached the beach opposite the Presidency College at about 5.30 p.m.

A public meeting was held in the above mentioned place. About ten thousand people were present. About half the people consisted of Hindus. Speeches were delivered from three platforms. At No.1 platform Mr; Khuddus Badsha Sahib took the chair. The accompanying resolution was moved by Mr. Yakub Hasan and seconded by Mr. Sharar of the Quami Report. Mr. Yakub Hasan read a speech in English.

Prominent among those present were Messrs. Khuddus Badsha Sahib Yakub Hasan, S.Kasturiranga Ayyangar, C. Rajagopalachari, T.V.Venkatarama Ayyar, Adinarayana Chetti T.V.Gopalaswami Mudaliar, V.V.S. Iyer, Valiulla Badsha Sahib and otheroffice -bearers of the Khilafat Committee.

The meeting commenced with a prayer and closed with a prayer. There was nothing objectionable in it.

The meeting terminated at about 7 p.m. The Turkish

flag was hoisted at the meeting place and the Muslim volunteers preserved order.

The day passed off quietly. There was no manifestation of non-co-operation.

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RESOLUTION.

That this mass meeting of the citizens of Madras records its full sympathy with the movement of the Central Khilafat Committee in order to secure the revision of the Turkish Peace Terms consistently with Muslim sentiment and Islamic law and approves of non-co-operation approved and adopted by Central Khilafat Committee to be continued till the Peace Terms are revised.

This meeting respectfullyurges the Imperial Government in the interest of the Empire which they are supposed to represent to secure a just revision of the terms which have been universally condemned as unjust and manifestly in breach of Ministerial declarations.

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No. 928 C
S.F. 235/5
fm
3rd August. 20

xCopy
Extracts from a report from an officer of this Department dated the 2nd August 1920, regarding Non-Co-operation and Khilafat Movement.

* *   * *   * *   * *

There was an informal meeting in the place of Abbas Husain on Friday night. Abbas Husain, Yakub Hasan Ghulam Ahmed Kalami (uncle of Jaffar Husain Kalami ex internee) and himself (Syed Murtuza Saheb) attended it. The discussion was opened by Yakub Hasan . He said that in future the speechs of the Khilafat agitators should be to preach open disaffection unmindful of the consequences, and thus invoke arrest by the Government. The masses would then realise the situation and rebel against the Government.

No 953
S 235/5
7th August '20

Copy of a report No. 1684/I.D., dated the 5th August 1920, from the Commissioner of Police, Madras regarding the Khilafat Agitation.

* * * *

The one subject that is being talked of in the Muslim circles is the action taken by Mr. Muhammad the, acting Principal of the Madras Muhammadan College in respect of the students who are members of the Muslim Volunteer corps. It appears that under the orders of the Director of Public Instruction he issued an order on 2/8/20 calling on all the Muslim students of the College and the Government Madrasi-Azam either to leave the institution or to sever their connection with the Muslim Volunteer Corps which being a body organised and fainanced by the Khilafat Committee carrying (sic) students may leave the institution and that he would try to secure seats for them in the Pachaiyappa's College This college is exlcusively intended for Hindus and its doors have so far been shut against Christinas and Mussalmans. It is improbable that the Trustees of the College would allow Muslims to seek admission into it; but in thee days when so much is said by way of bringing about Hindu Mulsim entrnte, the College authorities may yield.

In the meantime, better cousels appear to have prevvailed among the Muslims themselves and through the tack and persuasion of Mr. Muhammad many of the student, Volunteers who it was feared would be obdurate and yielding have written to say that they would have nothing to do with the volunteer corps and that they would

have nothing to do with the Volunteer Corps and that they would not leave the College and the Madrasa. A few however are still stubborn and have not done anything. In the course of this week, it is hoped that they would also cease to have any connection with the Volunteer Corps. Mr. Sharar of the "Quami Report" in today's issue criticises in the leading article the action of Mr. Muhammad and yet advises the students not to leave the college. Thix (Sic).

The Khilafat Committee has asked the Principal to send them copies of the orders under which he acted. Of course he will notgive them any reply and it is not known what action the Khilafat Committee is going to take in the matter.

It is given out that this matter would be placed before Messers. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali who are expected to arrive in Madras about the 14th of this month. These two persons have been invited to come to Madras by the Khilafat Committee to infuse spirit in the minds of the Muslims in respect of the non-co-operation propagand a and to enlist the sympathy of the Hindus whose interest in this movement has of late been only lukewarm. The inspiring presence of these two individuals is sure to have a baneful effect on the minds of the otherwise quiet Madrassis. They intend not only to visit Madras but also to go to the various Muslim centres in the Presidency including the Military Station of Bangalore. The non-co-operation movement has not yet got many supporters but the presende of these two individuals is sure to have a baneful effect on the midds of the otherwise quiet Madrasis. They intend not only) "Patriots" is sure to give a new turn to the course of events in the Presidency and to undo all that has been done to wean the masses from joining a movement fraught with consequences (sic)

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No 952 C

7th August '20

Copy of a report from an officer of this department, dat d the 5th August 1920, regarding the Khilafat agitation.

* * * * *

The visit of Gandhi, Shaukat Ali and Dr. Kitchlew is now practically certain. There was correspondence about it between Yakub Hasan and the Central Khilafat Committee. His first letter brought the reply that arrangements having been made to tour in the United Provinces they could not go over here. But Yakub Hasan insisted on their coming lest the non-co-operation should end in failure; He wrote to say that the division in the Khilafat camp and the change in the angle of vision of many of the local Hindu Nationalists in the matter of non-co-operation would end

(sic)

Besides effecting a compromise between the different schools of thought it is expected that Gandhi and Shaukat Ali will be able to induce a very large number of title and honorary appointment holders both among the Hindus and the Muslims to give them up, and collect a large amount for the Khilafat Fund.

Some of the members of the Khilafat Committee expresses surprise at the announcement of the visit. Yakub Hasan carried the correpsondence secretly without the approval of the Khilafat Committee. His friends Ghulam Ahmed Kalami, Abbas, Hussain, Valiulla Badsha Haji Abdul Raheem Shaik Nathed and his young followers are of course with him. Khan Bahadur Abdul Khudoos Badsha is uncomfortable and feels that he will have to

bow down to the dictate of Gandhi and Shaukat Ali. He is afraid a heavy pressure will be brought to bear on him to give up his title as the President of the Khilafat Committee.

Jamal Mohammad and even C.Abdul Hakeem are not quite jubilant over the visit as they apprehend that they will be required to pay largely for the Khilafat fund in spite of the fall of their business and they think so far as the collection of money is concerned

(sic)

Abdul Majid Sharar is not enamoured with their coming to Madras. He thinks that Yakub Hasan has out-witted him and he will be forced to follow them.

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No 246.
SF 243
Dr. 11 Aug 1920

Extracts from a speech delivered by Yakub Hasan, at the 3rd Khilafat Day meeting on the Madras Beach on 1st August, are submitted. Audience 10 to 15,000.

We Indian Mussalmans here met, we Indian Mussalmans accept this challenge in the name of Allah the Merciful and the Compassionate. (Allaho Akbar!). From this day there will be war between us and the Government (Allaho Akbar!) In this, the battle of the right against the might, we shall not have to resort to brutal force and violence but shall use a weapon which by the grace of Allah will prove more formidable than the machine gun and air bomb (Allaho Akbar!). We embark today on an expedition which is preganant with immense possibilities. We are not unaware of the ~~of the~~ grave consequences that will arise out of our enterprise. We fully realise our responsibilities and deliberately take a course the success or the failure of which hangs the integrity of Khilafat and the freedom of India.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

SECRET. Stonehouse Hill,

D.O.No. 100-S. 12th August 1920.

My dear Hannyngton,

Shaukat Ali and the Khilafat agitation.

My Secret demi-official No.156-S., dated 16th June 1920.

Intimation has been recived that Shaukat Ali intends to visit Bangalore and the Madras Presidency this month accompanied by Gandhi and Kitchlew. The probable dates are the 12th for Bangalore and the 14th for Madras and thereafter it is said that they will make a tour round the Presidency.

The situation in the Presidency is at present fairly satisfactory, and in the circumstances the Government are much averse to the arrival of these agitators who are coming solely for the purpose of reviving an agitation which has very nearly died down since thevisit of Shaukat Ali in April last. As soon therefore as the Government received this information an urgent reference was made to the Government of India emphasising the present calm situation in this Presidency and the inadvisibility of permitting these agitators to enter and stir up excitment and possibly disorder and asking whether the Government of India would be prepared to permit this Government to issue an order under the Defence of India Rules forbidding the men to enter the Presidency.

The Government of India have now replied that the adhere to their policy of avoiding any overt action against these agitators and are opposed to the issue of a exter-nment order so far as the whole Prsidency is concerned,

and are only prepared to permit such an order to prevent their entry into Malabar, where they might precipitate an outbreak among the fanatical Mappillas. They do not wish any action to be taken against them, should they enter the Presidency, unless they bring themselves within the ordinary criminal law by any ordinary criminal law by any speeches or other action the course of their tour, In such an event they have no objection to a preosection being instituted.

Legal opinion has, however, been taken as to whether a prosecution would stand against Gandhi under section 124 A of the Penal Code or any other section of the criminal law in respect of his non-co-operation scheme, and the opinion is that it would not stand in respect of the first two stages. The Government of India do not accept this opinion as absolute, but they consider that in the circumstances it would be unwise to risk a premature prosecution of which the result is doubtful. They consider that the result might only be the stimulating and advertising of a movement which has not yet received any real measure of support in this country in spite of the untiring labours of its promoters, and express a hope that, if the movement is left to itself, it will be an absolute failure.

~~The~~ The Government of India hold that there are even stronger objections to action under the Defence of India Act. Gandhi and his companions would probably defy any order of externment served upon them. This would entail their arrest and prosecution and it seems probable ~~xx~~ that Gandhi would welcome this as likely to increase materially his chances of making a success of his non-co-operation policy. Any such action in the Madras Presidency would necessarily affect the situation throughout India and not this Presidency alone.

The Government of India consider that Gandhi and Shaukat Ali secured little practical result, as far as non-co-operation was concerned, in the eourse of their recent tour in the Punjab before the hartal of the 1st August, although the feeling there is much more intense than in the Madras Presidency. Further they see reason to hope that the results of theit tour in the Madras Presidency would be merely temporary, as in the case of Shaukat Ali's previous tour in April.

I am to say that in the circumstances the Government are bound to follow the advice of the Government of India and with a possible exception in the case of Malabar, they will raise no opposition to the entry of Gandhi and Shaukat Ali into this Presidency nor will they interfere with there proposed tour. If there is imminent danger of a breach of the peace the District Magistrate may issue an order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, but ordinarily such action should not be taken without reference to the Government.

These instructions must modify those in my demi-official No.156-S. and I am to add, with reference to paragraph 5 of that demi-official that the Government have been unable to secure any material that coule be used to justify an order under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code against Shaukat Ali.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/. R.A.Graham.

D.O. To Mr. Thomas.

My dear Thomas,

Shaukat Ali and the Kh. Agitation

Continuation of my circular D. 8.

You will observe that the chief objection of the Government of India to an order of externment being made against Gandhi or any of his companions is that they would defy the order and would force the Government to arrest and prosecute them, and so obtain at least noteriety, if not martyrdom. The same arguments apply therefore, thogh in a lesser form to the issue of an order forbidding them to enter the Malabar Area. They would probably disobey and so render themselves liable to arrest. I am therefore to ask you for your considered opinion whether it is absolutely necessary to issue an externment order against their entry into Malabar, As the Government of India have expressed themselves so unmistakeably against the issue of any order against Gandhi and Shaukat Ali I am to say that the Government consider that very strong reasons are necessary to support a recommendation to extern.

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NO. 973C
SF. 235/6

Dt. 13th Aug. '20

Copy of a report No. 1721/I.D., dated the 12th August 1920, from the Commissioner of Police, Madras regarding the Khilafat Agitation

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Messers Moulana Shaukat Ali and M.K.Gamdhi arrived at Madras Central Station at 9.30 A.M. by the Bombay Mail.

Just before the train arrived the crowd numbered about 10,000. Labour Unions were represented by Madras Electric Tramwaymen's Union, Kerosine Oil Woerkers' Union, Simpson and Co's Employees' Union and Government Press Employees Union. Muhammadan processions also were brought in with flags and incriptions from Triplicane, Perambur Barracks, Mafus Khan's garden and Georgetown. A large number of students attended and in the crowed Muhammadans and Hindus were in Equal proportion. Except the members of the Khilafat Committee all the prominent Mussalmans of the city such as Shifaulmulk, Zynul Abdeen Saib, Khan Saib Oosman Sahib, B.A., C.Abdul Hakim Saib, Khan Bahadur Waljee Laljee Sait, Sadulla Badsha Saheb were conspicuous by their absence.

On the arrival of the train on the platform Kuddus Badsha Sahib on Behalf of the Khilafat Committee and Kasturiranga Ayyangar on behalf of the Provincial Congress Committee garlanded the visitors. Dr. Kitchlew did not arrive on account, it is said of indisposition. The Volunteer Corps under the command of Ghulam Dastagir Sahib, the Colonel, conducted Shaukat Ali and Gandhi to a motor car in which (sic) were taken
along with them Messrs Yakub (sic)
Sahib, T.Adinarayana Chettiar (sic)
procession was (sic)
already (sic)
ion (sic)

began to dwindle down till it came to Mount Road, when it hardly numbered more than 1000. In Triplicane again the procession gathered force but in Pycroft's Road the number began to gradually fall off. Then the motor car carrying the visitors went fast to Purasawakam and thus the procession broke off.

#09714C
SF. 235/6
13th Aug

Copy of a report from an officer of this department dated the 12th August 1920, regarding the programme of tour of Gandhi and Shaukat Ali.

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This afternoon Yakub Hasan, C.Rajagopalachari, Shaik Nathed, Usman Sait of Bangalore and a few other Khilafat workers with Gandhi and Shaukat Ali in their midst discussed the programme of tour in the Presidency It is proposed that the party will lave for Ambur to morrow night ~~night~~ and return to Madras Sunday morning. Afterwards they will visit Kumbakonam Tanjore and Trichinopoly From Trichinopoly via Erode they go to Calicut (Malabar) While returning they halt at Salem and then go to Bangalore.

Shaukat Ali has commenced his usual game of seducing the youngmen.

His advice to the students of the Government Madrasia-Azam who were ordered by the school authorities to sever their connection with the Volunteer movemnt on pain of removal from the school is that they should stick to the Volunteer Service, and give up studeis for at least a year. Efforts are being made through the influence of Mr. Gandhi to break the rule oxf non-admission of Mussulmans into the Hindu High School and Pachiappa's College, and admit the Madrasia or other school students who are to be turned out on account of Khilafat.

Report No. 1739/I.D. /20. Dated the 14th August 1920-

Abstract.

Report regarding the visit to Madras of Messrs Shaukat Ali and Gandhi.

In the evening a public meeting was held on the beach opposite the Presidency College. Mr. Gandhi delivered a lecutre in Englaish on "Non-co-operation". Mr. Shaukat Ali spoke in Urdu. [About 20,000 people attended. Prominent among them were messrs. Moosa Sait, S.Kasturiranga Ayyangar, S.Satyamurthi, A.Rangaswami Ayyangar, A.V.Venkatarama Ayyar, T. Adinarayana Chetti, T.V.Gopalaswami Mudaliar, V.V.S.Ayyar, Dr. A.L. Sayeed, S.Krishnaswami Sarma, N.Krishnamachariar of Vellore, P.Naghabushanam, Ghulam Muhammad, Yakub Hasan and C.Rajagopalachair and the Zemindar of Munagala.] Mr. Khuddus Badsha Sahib was voted to the Chair. The proceedings began with a prayer in Urdu. Messs. Gandhi and Shakkat Ali made strong speeches.

The next morning at about 8.30 a.m. an informal Conference of some of the leading men of Madras was held under the auspices ~~Gandhi~~ of the Khilafat Committee at its office in Braodway. Messrs. Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Yakub Hasan, Kuddus Badsha Sahib, S.Kasturiranga Ayyangar C.Rajagopalachari, S.Satyamurthi, George (sic) Wistance and Dr. T.S.S.Rajan and others were present. At the (sic) of Mr. Gandhi, Messrs. C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar, G.A. ~~(sic)~~ Natesa Mudaliar Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and Rao Bahadur (sic) "Moderate Party" also attended the ~~(sic)~~ Conference. meeting was to discuss the (sic) feasibility in Madras. As the press (sic) Reporters ference Mr. C.P.Rama (sic) Commissioner of (sic)

him requesting him to attend the Conference. On being questioned by the "Nationalist Party" Mr. C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar on behalf of the "Moderate Party" said that Mr. Gandhi scheme of Non-co-operation was impracticable. Mr. Gandhi said that Mr. Shaukat Ali was prepared to draw sword against the Government to achieve his object but he(Mr. Gandhi) prevented him from doing so by announcing the scheme of non-co-operation. Mr. C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar observed that the lawyers in this country could not afford to leave their practice as they have got the responsibility of supporting their families. Mr. Gandhi rejoined that in England European Barristers served as gutter-cleaners. Mr. C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar replied that the Madras lawyers were not trained or strong enough tobecome gutter-cleaners. Mr. S.Satyamaurthi stated that the Nationalists would stand as candidates for election as members of the Legislative Council and then refuse to co-operate with Government so that the Moderates might not have their own way. Mr. C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar appears to have said that they should either wage war or give up non-co-operation and that they could not wage war because they had neither strength nor wealth, and strongly protested against non-co-operation. The final decision was adjourned to the meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee to be held on the 15th instant in Madras at which Mr. Gandhi, ALSO will be present. The report in the Madras Mail, of the 13th instant that the Conference adopted Mr. Gandhi's advice and resolved to carry out the Non-co-operation programme does not appear to be correct.

Mr. Yakub Hasan asked Mr. Khuddus Badsha Sahib to give up his title and there was a hot discussion between them both. Mr. Khuddus Badsha Sahib left the meeting in anger. Mr. (sic) Gandhi

Urged on the Mussalamans the necesity of taking to (sic) non-co-operation at once not only to give a lead to others (sic) but also by example that their religious fervour (sic) was

The meeting terminated at (sic)

On the evening of (sic) 13th Triplicane

compound of the Triplicane (sic)

Khan Bahadur Abdul (sic)

appear to (sic)

"Shamshul Ulma" the representative of the Prince of Arcot for holding the meeting in the premises of the Mosque. About 1000 people were present mostly Mussalmans. Prominent among them were Messrs Ghulam Ahmed Kalami, Dr. Muhammad Usman Sahib Bahadur, and Hakim Abdul Aziz Badsha Sahib. The Zemindar of Munagala, Pandit Nageswara Rao and C.Rajagopalachaeri were noticed. Mr. Yakub Hasan turned up at the close of the meeting. Mr. Hakim Abdul Aziz Shaib was in spite of his protest voted to the chair. Mr. Gandhi spoke in Hindustani for about an hour. The ideas expressed by him in English the previous evening on the beach ~~were expressed by him in English the previous evening~~ on the beach were expressed on this occasion. He traced the origin of the Khilafat agitation and said that the Khilafat question was purely a religious one and that every Mussalman who went by that name was bound to support the cause of the Khilafat. He then spoke about the necessity of the working Non-co-operation as the only method by which Mussalamns could expect to have justice at the hands of the British nation. He then explained the four stages of non-co-operation.

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After the speech of Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Usman Sahib of Bangalore spoke. He said that the Mussalmans of Madras talked too much and did very little in practice. He went on to say that the Mussalamans who held titles were not approached by the Khilafat Committee and that if the proper representaion was made to them they would all renounce their titles. Saying this he placed his turban at the feet of the Chairman who held the title of Khan Bahadur and requested him to renounce his title and also called on other Mussalamans to do the same. Then caps and turbans began to fly on to the platform until a heap was raised before the Chairman. There were ~~cires~~ cries from all directions calling on the Chairman to renounce his title. He said that he would (sic)

it only when all the Mussalmans of Madras who held (sic) titles did the same. But his voice was drowned in the (sic) din The announced that he consented to (sic) renounce his title were shouts of joy and the (sic) Chairman.

of the people.

Mr. Hakim Abdul (sic)

the meeting that (sic)

intention of (sic)

held in the house of Mr. Khuddus Badsha Sahib at which Mr. Abdul Aziz Sahib was also present. It was proposed to make it known to the publci that the relinquishment of titles was not announced by Mr. Abdul Aziz Sahib at the mosque meeting and that even if it was taken for granted that he said so, it was not binding on him in as much as it was forced out of him.

Mr Gandhi left for Ambur on the night of the 13th instant to attend the District Khilafat Conference, He

will be back to Madras on the 15th and leave for Kumbakonam the same evening. Mr. Shaukat Ali did not go to Ambur on account of indisposition.

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Submitted to the Chief Secretary to Government of Madras. Stonehouse Hill Ootacamund for information.

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Reportno 1139-1 20 IB of 16th Aug

Abstract

Report of an officer of the City Intelligence Department re: the Khilafat agitation.

Report.

Vigorous attempt is being made by the Khilafat agitators to force the title holders and persons holding honorary appointmeahts to relinquish their titles and honorary posts. Many of them waited of M.r Khuddus Badsha Sahib and asked him to renounce his title of Khan Bahadur. He is said to have stated that he would do so only after all the title-holders in Madras had consented to relinqish their titles. Thereupon they went to several other title-holders in the city and obtained their consent saying that Mr. Khuddus Badsha Sahib had consented to renounce his title. It is ascertained that so far the following four persons have expressed their consent to give up titles and Honoarary appointments:--

(1) T.Aminudeen Shaib-the title of Khan Bahadur.

(2) Saiyid Abdul Qadir Sahib Jeelani-the title of Khan Sahib and Honoarary Magistracy.

(3) Abbas Hussain - honorary Magistracy.

(4)Abdul Razaak - Chairmanship of the Saidpet Union.

At about 3 p.m. on 15-8-20 the adjourned meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee was held at the Mahajana Sabha Hall with Mr. S.Kasturiranga Ayyangar in the chair to consider the question of Non-co-operation Nationalists and Moderates were present. There was a hot discussion. The Moderates maintained that non-co-operation being an unconstitutional movement designed to paralyse Government was opposed to the tenets of the Congress whose object was to gain ~~Swir~~-Government by constitutional means.

The Nationalists in common with other extreme agitators of Mr. Gandhi's type argued that non-copoperation was not unconstitutional and therefore it would not transgress the limits of consititutional propaganda of the Congress. The pleader element of the Nationalist Party was divided against its own party by urging that non-co-operation minus the boycott of Councils might be accepted. After much discussion it was resolved that the policy of non-co-operation should be accepted and that the programme of working it up should be drafted later on.

Neither Mr. Gandhi nor Mr. Shaukat Ali was present at the meeting.

Messrs. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali addressed a meeting of labourers in the city on the evening of 15-8-'20 on the beach opposite the High Court. They did not touch upon politics.

Extracts from a report dated the 13th August 1920, from an officer of this department regarding the Khilafat and Non-co-operation movements.

* * *   * * * *   * * *

~~Axpublicxmeetingxtoxbexaddressed~~

It appears the private Conference held at the Khilafat office this morning gave rise to suspicion in the minds of Gandhi and Shaukat Ali that the local Muslims are not quite prepared to take up non-co-operation, and in (sic) ~~mxi~~ to educate and convince them this meeting.

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Shaik Nathed proposed Khan Bahadur Hakeem Muhammad Abdul Azeez Sahib to the chair. He called on Gandhi to address the meeting. *   *   *   *

In the first stage he mentioned renunciation of titles and honorary appointments, giving up legal practises and instituting private arbitration, taking away children from Government and aided institutions boycoting Councils and the voters refusing to vote, and encouraging Swadeshism.

While talking on titles he wished the Chairman Khan Bahadur Hakeem Abdul Azeez Sahib would give up his title. Speaking on Councils he said that some of his friends told him that they would weaken the Government after going to the Councils. He said that the members of the Parliament who are far more powerful could not weaken the Government after going to the Councils. ~~He said that the members of the Parliament who are far more powerful could not weaken the Government~~ there and as such these people could not succeed here. The Government is wicked and oppressive.

He explained the second step in Non-co-operation i.e. resigning Government appointments.

Then he went to the third and fourth steps. Withdrawal from Military Service and refusal to pay taxes respectively.

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They should not think that if the appointments are given up they will be helpless. God is great and he will help them. The Khilafat Committee will also come to their aid. Sir Reginald Craddock, Lieut-Governor, of Burma, is reported this evening to have said that the Europeans who are not more than one lakh could not rule India without the co-operation of the Indians who are 30 crores. Gandhi said that he was telling the people the same thing as the Lieut-governor said. If the Non -co-operation is successfully worked up, it will be impossible for the Government to carry on their administration.

After Mr. Gandhi sat down, Haji Usman Sait of Bangalore addressed the meeting with the permission of the Chair.

When they are asked to resign their titles, they say god willing they will do so, and want time for preparation; what preparation time was wanted for giving up titles? So saying he requested the Chair to give up his title: he put his turban at the feet of the Chairman, and asked the audience to do so; a heap of caps and turbans were thrown at his feet; he was pestered from all sides to give up his title; hajui Usman Sait touched his beard and requested him to announce the resignation of his title. Ghulam Ahmed Kalami, Shaik Nathed, Shafi Muhammed and a number of people surrounded him. Yakub Hasan was pulling the wire from behind. Khan Bahadur Hakeem Abdul Azeez (the Chairman) said that the opinion on the matter is divided and he was considering the question. On that there was an uproar. People said "All are united. Resign your title". Some fellows were shouting "Beat him, Kill him". Some said "He is guided by Bazl-ul-lah (Chief Presidency Magistrate) and Kalimulla (Deputy Superintendent of Police who is on leave, but suspected

to be spying). Kill them all". Munaver Khan brother-in-law of Muhammad Abdul Karim Sahib Faruki Khan Sahib (sic) to the Deputy Inspector-General (sic) and C.I.D., (He (sic) of war) buried in Madras), said with his whole frame of body shaking with rage "Dont leave him alive, if he does not resign". There was a big confusion. At last the Chairman in a small voice not quite audible with a few words and half inclined to stand from his chair said he resigned his title. It was loudly announced by Haji Usman Sait and Ghulam Ahmed Kalani. There were shouts of joy. Haji Usman Sait thanked the Chair and proposed that a public meeting should be held to congratualte him. ~~He thanked the Chair and proposed that a public meeting should be hled to congratulate him.~~ He thanked Gandhi also. After the meeting was dispersed the Chairman was taken on their shoulders.

The attitude of the mob was distinctly violent. If he had perisited in his refusal he would have certainly been badly beaten and disgraced. Mr. Gandhi "The Prince of Peace" the incarnator of Non-violent Non-co-operation did not raise a little finger to stop the threatneing and the violent expressions of the mob. He was smiling all the while. If he had been true to his word he should have controlled them and if they had not listened to him he should have walked out of the place. On the other hand he was drawing pleasure form the first fruits of his Non-violence Non-co-operation. As soon as they saw Khan Bahadur Abdul Azeez Sahib and The Hon'Ble Khan Bahadur Mohammed Usman Sahib coming to attend the meeting they talked among themselves that either of them should be proposed to the Chair so that pressure might be brought to bear

on them to give up their titles in the meeting itself. They all agreed. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mohammed Usman Sahib Retired District Medical and Sanitary Officer, quietly declined. Khan Bahadur Mohammed Abdul Azeez Sahib also at first declined, but when pressed hard accepted. It would be clear from the above facts that what transpired in the meeting subsequently was the result of the conspiracy planned out before hand. While the confusion was on, and the Chairman was threatened and abused, The Hon'Ble Mr. Mohammed Usman Sahib Managed to escape. He was searched for subsequently but could not be found. His son who received his school education in the Aligarh College was in the ranks of the young extremists, put playing a second fiddle. He is a student of the Presidency College, Madras.

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No 985 C

6th Aug

Copy of a letter dated 25th July 1920, from C.S. Sitarama Ayyar, Conjeevaram to Shaukat Ali, is submitted.

* * * *   * * * * *   * * * *

I believe you may not be aware of the full details of my case under the Indian Defence Act during the years 1917 and 1918; as you were then under internment. This case was then the bruning topic of the days. I therefore wish to acquaint, you with a brief summary of the whole case contained in the enclosed copy of my appeal which I have sent to the various journals for publications.

*   *   *   *   *

(Requests help for appealing his case).

We are all waiting for the final decision of the All-India Congress to adopt the system of Non-co-operation. For the ensuing elections to Reform Councils should strongly advise the people to (sic)

ed political prisoners for (sic) members

It is only , (sic)

prisonment and other penalities for the Cause of the Country should have preference. It is only then the white bureaucracy will yield to our requests. I wish to add some more items to various stages of Non-co-operation suggested by Mr.Gandhi. (1) To boycott all English goods. (2) To influence low caste people not to undertake menial service under Europeans, (3) To influence the people not to go in for treatment under European Doctors. (4) To influence people not to make purchases in any European firm. (5) To cause a regular strike of work in all Government factories mills and printing presses and also in factories owned by European Capitalists.

I request you to consult Mr. Gandhi on these points and let me know an early reply.

Copy of a D.O. Letter addressed to Shaukat Ali by Yakub Hasan, member of the Madras Presidency Khilafat Committee dated the 2nd August 1920.

* * * *

The 3rd Khilafat Day was a complete success here and throughout the Presidency.

We had some trouble owing to some unreasonable attitude of Maulvi Abdul Majid Sharar and Khan Bahadur Abdul Khuddus Badsha. The former had been writing a series of articles making personal attacks on me and criticising and Council of the Khilafat Committee of which I am chairman. Abdul Khuddus Badsha does not wish to give up his title but at the same time he feels that as President of the Committee he must carry out the resolution of the Committee. So he insisted on postponing the date of the announcement (sci) tions. Maulvi Sharar Supoorted (sic)
knowing report (sic)
the (sic)
propaganda therefore suffered much on this account and the time which ought to have been more usefully employed was taken up in composing the differences. The Government officials (of course Muslim) took advantage of the situation and tried to influence Khuddus Badsha. He wanted some excuse to resign the presidentship but I was resolved not to give up that to him cost what it might.

The Council resolved that this suggestion about postponement of the date be refered to Non-Co-operation Committee but at the same time it was recorded that your decision will be acted upon. Khuddus Badsha then submitted his resignation of the Presidentship. Gulam Ahmad Kalami.,

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Jamal Muhammad and I saw him and after 3 days of influencing and counter influenceing he agreed to withdraw his resignation. We also succeeeded in winning over Maulvi Sharur. But this reconcilation could not be effected without agreeing to the proposal of postponing the announcement to a later date to be fixed by the Council. There is again harmony and we are all working together to make the Non-Co-operation a success. I am going on tour in one direction and Sharar in another. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar will accompany me. We (sic)
probably fix the I douzoah for the (sic)
suitable day for this (sic)

I was (sic)
the (sic)
behalf of the Non-co-operation Committee that the inauguration of the movement should be strictly confined to the first stage; that is only titles, honorary appointments of Magistrates and Justice of the Peace and the membership of the Legislative Council only should be given up. I naturally concluded that the representations I along with the delegates from other provinces made to Mr. Ghandi have been heeded and resulted in the modification of the programme for the 1st instant. I am now surpirsed to see that further instructions have been issued which require the parents not to send their children to Government and aided institutions and the lawyers to give up their practices also that the reformed Councils be boycotted. I am afraid this will complicate maters and make our work very difficult if not impossible.

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988 C

235/6

Dt 16th Aug

Copy of a report No. 1688/I.D. dated the 13th August 1920, from the Commissioner of Police, Madras, is submitted

* * * * *

The attached is an English translation of the Urdu speech of Mr. Shaukat Ali delivered on the Triplicane beach on the ~~xxxxxx~~ evening of 12/8/20.

Brethern I tell specially the Mussalmans whether the other religionists take to Non-co-operation or not, it is an obligation the Mussalmans-men, women and children owe to God to work it up; for God has ordered in the Quaran (Arabic Verse) in other words, "Help in the cause of righteousness help in the cause of God and do not help those enemies who are the enemies of Islam".

Nothing more need be said. England has occupied the Holy City (Jerusalem); England has occupied the hallowed Mecca Medina Jazeeratul Arab and Baghdad. The Khilafa of the Prophet is a prisoner of the English. We are gagged in India. If any one wishes salvation through our prophet, and wants that he (the Prophet) shoud not be displeased, he should non-co-operate (with the Government). I am sorry that my voice does not permit to speak. Whether Congress does or not, I know that if the Mussalmans sacrifice in the name of God as Abraham whose anniversary you are shortly to celebrate did, then I say that not only Hindus but the whole world will be one with you. If on the other hand you show any signs of weakness and are not firm, you will not (sic) any respect in futue just as you have (sic) any respect till now.

command

Brethern very little sacrifi ce is required of you. Your life is bestowed on you by God; Your wealth

is the gift of God. You should utilize your life, wealth and time in the cause of God. If you do not do it you become lost to your religion and to the world. You have done service. Some of my friends ask me how the children could leave the school when their parents are Government servants, Government employs the parents and not the children, Are you Mussalmans not ashamed that the forces that were victorious in Jerusalem had two-thirds Mussalmans in them ? You yourselves have cut the root of Islam. Be afraid of God. A day will come when you will have to answer. It is better to expiate your sins in this world alone. There is no other way open for you. Make sacrifices and give up services. What matters if for the sake of Khilafat your children leave schools or colleges for a year or two ? To learn to sacrifice is a great training, If, today, you make a sacrifice do you think that the Hindus are so debased as to take up places vacated by you? If you sacrifice and they do not, they will themselves repent for it. It is your duty that every man and woman should go into Districts and villages and begin to work up non-co-operation.

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NO 925
SF235/6

17th Aug

Extract from a report dated the 14th August 1920, from an officer of this department, regarding the North Arcot District Khilafat Conference, held at Ambur.

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Honorary Bench Magistrates Abdul Rahim, Banki Hyathbatcha, Moulvi Muhammed Kasim and N.S.Singallappa Chetti were sent for this morning and when they appeared before Gandhi they were persuaded to resign their honorary appointments. Gandhi refused to eat or attend the Conference if they did not resign in his presence. The men signed a letter resigning their appointment of Honorary Magistrates, and a wire was sent to His Excellency to that effect.

Advance copy of a paragraph of Madras Police Abstract No 28 dated 21st Aug 1920

North Arcto Distict, Ambur 14th August 1920.

Gandhi Yakub, Hasan and Rajagopala Achari arrived at Ambur on the night of the 13th August from Madras.

The President-Elect Yakub Hasan and Gandhi arrived at the Conference pandal on the 14th. instant. Tiruvenkata Achari (paragraph) of Salem and Subramanya Siva (paragraph) supported the resolution electing Yakub Hasan as President. Yakub Hasan then delivered a speech in Urdu. The following was read.

"We the citizens of Ambur, having carefully considered the Non-co-operation programme fixed by the Non-co-operation Committee appointed by the Central Khilafat Committee have decided to adopt it. In pursuance thereof the undersigned consider that they can no longer bear the honorary offices held by us, we therefore, hereby beg to tender our (sic)
of our respective offices mentioned (sic)
(1) Bacha Sahib, Honorary Magistrate, Ambur (sic)
Honorary Magistrate Ambur, (3)

Dhandirappa Chettiar, ~~(sic)~~ Hon. Magistrate

The above resignations were also sent to the Secretary Government of Madras.

After the President's speech Gandhi addressed the audience in Urdu.

The President moved the following resolutions from the chair which were unanimously carried.

(1) The adoption of Non-co-operation.

(2) Congratulating Pir Mahabule Sahib of Sind on his bold spirit and encouraging his present line of non-defence.

(3) Congratulating the Honorary Magistrates of Ambur on resigning their Honorary Offices.

(4) Congratulating Abdul Azeez(paragraph) of Madras on his resignation of his title Khan Bahadur.

C.Rajagopal Achari spoke in Tamil for a few minutes ab about Non-co-operation and Gandhi requested the audience not to stand as candidates for Legislative Council.

Note: (1) The above resignations were extracted before the meeting by Gandhi refusing to eat or attent it unless these office holders resigned.

(2) The party returned to Madras via Vellore on the 15th. instant.

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speaks a lie and your Koran never writes a false thing. In the Koran, God has already said - (here the speaker read the verse of the Koran which means) "If you follow the path of faith firmly you will get lead both in religion and in the world". So brethren, you might apparently consider it a loss today to make sacrifices, but, by God I am sure, that besides getting sanctity in religion you will get worldly soverignity and honour as well. It is a religious belief of us, the Mussalmans, that to give life, and to take life, in the way of God, both are (sic) worthy of reward (Sawab ka Kain Hain), (sic)
act upon the principle just now (sic)
Mahatma Gandhi Which(sic)
of the Koran (sic)
your passion and anger and not commit any bloodshed, which will deteriorate our object.

945
235/6
11th August

45. 236.

Extracts from a speech in Urdu by Shaukat Ali at Kumbakonam on 16th August. Subject. Non-co-operation. The speech was translated sentence by sentence by Sayid Murtaza Sahib of Trichinopoly. Urdu shorthand notes are on record.

* * * *

Till now we maintained our belief in the British Government that it will respect and honour our religious affairs so we assisted it. But since it has proved with its actions and behaviour that it is not friendly to our religion and faith and that it has not responded to our a peals, it has become a religious duty and a duty of God and Prophet upon us, the Mussalmans, to cut off-co-operation with it totally. Neither it (Government) is our King, nor we are its subjects. It (sic)
not my verdict but it is the verdict of (sic)
and Koran of the Mussalmands) (sic)

Brethern I (sic)
of your (sic)
native. One may or may not assist you and your brother may or may not follow you it is the affair between yourself and your god that you should follow His orders and never act contrary to them. It is therefore Haram (illegal according to religion - forbidden) for every Muhumadan - he may be rich or poor, or a civil, Police, or military servant of the Government to assist Government until it gives back our riligious places, our Jazirat-ul-arab (Abraham's Island) and full power to the Khilafa of our prophet. So I ask you all to become prepared in your houses to sacrifice gladly your lives property, respect, honour and every thing in the way of God, in order to maintain your prestige both in religion and in the world. Brethren, your God never

GANDHI AND SHAUKAT ALI AT TRICHINOPOLY. 17-8-20.

The party proceeded to the residence of Dr. T.S.S.Rajan (Paragraph) whose guests they were. At 4.p.m. they held an informal conference to which about 170 leading Muhammadans and others had been specially invited; about half the number invited were present. The question of non-co-operation was freely discussed and there appears to have been considerable opposition.

The proposal to keep boys and girls away from Government colleges and schools was also strongly opposed as a suicidal policy. The scheme of holding aloof from the new Reformed Councils was also opposed by several of the local politicians, who pointed out that the field would thus be left clear for the Moderates, and non-co -operation in this respect on the part of the Extremists and Nationalists would simply mean self-destruction, and not self-sacrifice.

P. Kalif-ul-lah. M.A. B.L. - Municipal chairman was present, was then requested by Gandhi and (sic) resign his chairmanship. Mild argument (sic) Shaukat Ali adopted bullying tacti (sic) said "Are you not ashamed to (sic) Kalif-ul-lah(sic) on him from the Quoran, calling him a"Haran" (an enemy of the Qoran) etc.

The total result of the informal conference seems to have been a split in the camp, most of the local politicians deciding much against the will of Gandhi and Shaukat Ali, to draw up a more practical scheme of non-co-operation.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali advised the members to get into the confidence to the Police and military and gradually persuade them to sympathise with the movement.

After the conference, the visitors went in process - ion through the main streets of the town to the Chowk where a public meeting was held. About 10,000 people assembled there to listen to the speeches before the speeches were finished, the audience had dwindled to about 3,000

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali left by the night train for Calicut. It is yet too early to speak about the results of the visit to Trichinopoly.

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9956

235/6

17 Aug

Copy of a report dated the 16th August 1920 from an officer of this department, regarding the Khilafat agitation.

* * *

On the night of the 13th at about 11 when Khan Bahadur Hakeem Abdul Azeez Sahib and Khan Bahadur Abdul Khuddus Badsha were talking together at the residence of the latter about the occurence of the evening Ghulam Ahmed Kalami Haju Usman Sait of Bangalore, Shaik Nathed, Valiulla Badsha, Haji Abdur Rahim, some saits of Bangalore and a few local Khilafat workers visited them. They had garlands to garland the former for his resignation of the title of Khan Bahadur, and the latter in anticipation of his resignation. But they were disappointed. To begin with they (sic) receiption. Abdul Khuddus Badsha (sic)
dignation at the violent (sic)
Bahadur Ka Hakeem (sic)
maintained by the leading Khilafat workers preenet at the time in not having checked the mob. They said that they could not be held responsible for what the "badmashes" do and they were unable to control them. However they begged their pardon. But the Khan Bahadurs were not moved, and maintained throughout their indignant attidue and gave a bit of their mind out that they would not renounce their titles by any amount of force though they would as before continue to take an interest in the Khilafat, and the Khilafat workers and the community might do whatever they wished to do. They also hinted that if it was published in the papers that Khan Bahadur Hakeem abdul Azeez Sahib resigned his title, it would be contradicted. Further ~~discussion was postponed when Abdul Azeez Sahib resigned his title, it would be contradicted.~~ Furter discussion was postponed when Abdul Khuddus Badsha said he would see Shaukat Ali the following afternoon

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and in case the Khilafat workers wanted to see him again, he would see any one of them (not all) at 6.P.M. the following day (saturday). Saturday evening the above party again called on Abdul Khuddus Badsha. He refused to talk to them and referred them to his leter sent that day to the Khilafat Office. They denied having received it. He (sic) by saying that the voucher for the (sic)
it at the Khilafat Office was with (sic)
him to tell the contents. (sic)
to find it out (sic)
appears. (sic)

As things stand till now the two title holders and Khan Bahadur Abdul Azeez Sahib (Ex-Turkish Consul Brother of Abdul Khuddus Badsha), and the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mohammed Usman Sahib (Brother-in-law of Khuddus Badsha) are not inclined to give up their titles.

Khan Bahadur Abdul Khuddus Badsha has sent in his resignation of the office of the President of the Khilafat Committee on the grounds of the insults offered to himself by Yakub Hasan and to his brother-in-law Abdul Azeez Sahib at the Jumma Masjid meeting. It appears that after the private conference was over at the Khilafat Office on Friday morning Yakub Hasan Ghulam Ahmed Kalami and the other Khilafat workers pressed him to announce his resignation of the title. In the course of the heated discussion that followed Yakub Hasan called him a coward, a liar and insulted him badly. This he mentioned as one of the reasons for his resignation.

Some of the mischevious youthful Khilafat workers of Triplicane, notably Shaik Mathed, Hakeem Muhammed

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51. 2 212

Nadimulla his elder and younger brothers, Sayid Yusuf nephew of Saiyid Makhdoon Sahib, Assistant, Muthavalli of the Big Mosque, Triplicane, Khudadal Khan (living (sic)
a street behind the house of Hakeem Abdul (sic)
Muhammed Yeha Ali and Amir Ali stude (sic)
class, Government Azam Colle (sic)
Volunteer Corps, (sic)
to throw (sic)
Abdul Azeez Sahib and Abdul Khuddus Badsha Sahib with the aid of "Somaries" and "jutka-wallahs", and thus coerce them by these and other violent means to give up their titles.

Shaukat Ali who was not present at the Jumma Mosque meeting on the 13th was pleased to know that at least one member of the Badsha family was forced to resign his title. He told the young men and his satellities that it was not improper and irreligious to us force in carrying out Non-co-operation. He said that Islam wanted "Jihad" or "Hijrat" in this matter; but because Mr. Gandhi, in view of the present helplessness of India advised them to use Non-co-operation for the time being the Muslim leaders consented to it; other wise "Jihad" would have been proclaimed. While so it was not improper to resort to forcible means in making Non-co-operation a success. He also said that secretly they must mobilize all their resources and hold them in readiness. So that it must be used at once in case Non-co-operation fails. The secret instructions conveyed from time to time about it must be carried out. He also desired that a large number of people, especially able-bodied, should be prepared to go on "Hijrat" Kabul so that they might joint the army there the ranks of the invaders of India.

The above mentioned (sic)
in the city i (sic)
give (sic)
fat fund. They carry typed letters of resignation of titles.

52.

and honorary offices ready for signature. I understand that Khan Bahadur T.Amiruddin Sahib, Pice Goods Merchant and Khan Sahib Saiyid Abdul Khadir Jelani, Proprieter of Khadir and Yusuf Brothers, signed the letters of resignation. They had signed the manifesto to the Viceroy about the commencement of Non-coperation from the 1st August. Khan Sahib Khaji Khan Sahib retired Assistant Inspector of Schools, was approached. He begged for time to consider which was grantedd. Jamal Mohammed said that he would get his fater's resignation of the title of Khan Sahib after some more resignations are obtained. His younger brother Jamal Ibraheem is willing to give up the Honorary Magistracy of Dindigul. Jamal Mohammed was pressed to pay up the promised money. He said that he would write to his father about it.

The Khilafat Fund has run short. Last month there was only Rs.5000/. ~~Rxt~~ Out of this expenses of the 3rd Khilafat Day were ~~were~~ met. Now a sum of Rs. 2000/- was sanctioned for the expenses of the visit of Gandhi and Shaukat Ali. When some members of the Khilafat Committee asked for the account of expenses in detail they are informed that accounts are being (sic)
the auditor vouchers and receipts of (sic)
are ~~bit~~ not ready or forthcoming. (sic)

The resignation (sic)
from the (sic)
was not disposed of till now. In the ex-committee meeting held after the 3rd Khilafat Day it was taken up but kept pending so that he might be requested to reconsider the decision. The ostensible reason for resignation was that he could not find time to attend to the Khilafat work and do justice to the

office of the Secretaryship. But the real cause is that his actions in the committee were criticised by some of his opponents and he feels offended. Moreover he has differences with Khan Bahadur Abdul Khuddus Badsha whose continuance as the President of the Khilafat Committee in spite of his opposition to the Non-coperation he does not like.

1001 C
235/6
18th Aug

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Copy of a report No. 1739-1/I.D., dated the 16th August 1920, from the Commissioner of Police, regarding the Khilafat agitation is submitted.

On 14/8/20 Mr. Khuddus Badsha Sahib wrote to say that he had severed all connection with the Khilafat Committee and that he would not co-operate with those who wanted to work up Non-co-operation as suggested by Mr. Gandhi. The leading Khilafat agitators entreated Mr.Khuddus Badsha Sahib not to leave them in the lurch at this juncture but to put on at least a show of connection with the Khilafat Committee. Mr. Khuddus Badsha Sahib declined to accede to their wishes. It is learnt that Mr. Khuddus Badsha Sahib's son who recently left for England desired his father not to take part in the Khilafat agitation and also warned him that he would not return home if he (his father) acted in a manner that might prejudice his stay in England. It is said that on account of this warning from the son, the ladies in the house are influencing Mr.Khuddus Badsha Sahib against taking interest in the Non-co-operation movement.

1003 C
18th August

Extract from an English speech by M.K.Gandhi at Kumbakonam on the 16th August 1920. Subject. Non-co-operation. Audience. About ten thousand. Shortahnd notes are on record.

T

* * *

Kumbakonam

The last thing in the first stage of the program is the boycott of the visit of the Prince of Wales. We have no quarrel with His Royal Highness. We do not want to insult him, but he may not come to India in order to strengthen them - the hands of a wicked Government and gain hon and gain welcome from us. His is not a non-political, but a deliberate political visit.

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1009 C
235/6
19th Aug

Extract from a report dated the 18th August 1920, from an officer of this department, regarding the Khilafat agitation.

* * *

I reported that Sharar did not like the present visit of Gandhi and Shaukat Ali. Now it is plain that his absence until their stay here, and return soon after their departure were with the object of avoiding them for the reasons set forth in the above referred report. He is once again indignant with the Khilafat workers for not having taken him into confidence and told him before hand about the visit of Gandhi and Shaukat Ali to Madras. He keenly feels that the Presidentship of the Khilafat Conference at Ambur was not offered to him and thinks that he would have got it had not Yakub Hasan secured it through back-door methods.

. . . . (sic)

whith culminated in the resignation of Khan Bahadur Abdul Khuddus Badsha reported in my report dated 16th Sharar is approached by both parties to support their cause in his paper. Abdul Khuddus Badsha and Hakeem Abdul Azeez Sahib who new and then support him financially explained to him their side of the case as soon as he returned to Madras. As a result of it in his leader of yesterday he gave a sort of veiled support to Khuddus Badsha in his quarrel with Yakub Hasan without mentioning the names of the parties and the subject matter.

Last eveining at 5.30. the Secretaries of the Khilafat Committee Valiulla Badsha, Sahik Nathed, and Hajui Abdur Rahim interviewed Sharar in his office and discussed the present situation. There was a very animated

discussion. Sharar declined to have anything to do with with the xxxk Khilafat Committee so long as Yakub Hasan occupied the central position in it. The Secretaries regretted their inability to meet his demand and begged him not to be hostile to the Khilafat Committee in the present situation lest there should be a collapse of the Khilafat work in the Presidency, and in the name of Gandhi and Shaukat Ali requested him to withdraw his own resignation of Vice-Presidentship tendered (sic) time ago, and prevail on Abdul Khuddus (sic) draw his resignation also. (sic) join Gandhi and (sic) .... Sharar was smarting with anger with the treatment Yakub Hasan and his party has meted out to him and their plot to throw him in the background.

Some admirers of Sharar intend that in case Abdul Khuddus Badsha does not withdraw his resignation Sharar may be put afx up as a candidate. But Yakub Hasan's party has scented it and will doubtless oppose it.

It appears Mr. Gandhi desired to call on Abdul Khuddus Badsha and settle the dispute amiably, but the latter did not encourage it. I understand that Shaukat Ali has at the back of his mind the object of secretly instructing the fanatically inclined Muslims of the places he visits.

10/BC
235/7
20th August.

Copy of a report dated the 19th August 1920, from an officer of this department, regarding a proposed meeting between M.K.Gandhi and the students of the Law College, Madras, on the 22nd August 1920.

* * *

A telegram was received by the Secretary of the representative association of the Law College, Madras, from C.Rajagopalachariar, stating that Gandhi, is desirous of meeting all the Law College students in a private conference at No. 63, Pursuvakam, High Road, on 22/8/20; the wire was received on 18/8/20; the Secretary consulted the students who all desired to meet Gandhi as desired and a reply wire was sent agreeing with Gandhi's proposal.

The Law College students anticiapte exhortation from Gandhi to give up their studies; and so they want (sic) meet for discussion matters on 21/8/20 (sic) they may give a decisive xx (sic).

Copy of a report No.103, dated the 19th August 1920 from an officer of this department, regarding, the Khilafat Agitation.

* * * *

Private information shows:- On the 13th, V.V.SS Ayyar had a private interview with Shaukat Ali. Shaukat Ali said that he does not at all believe in the Non-co-operation propaganda; he has taken up the propaganda only as a cloak for revolutionary work. He has been working for revoulutionary alone work. ~~He has been working for revolutionary work alone.~~ He has succeeded in preparing a revolutionary organisation in Northern India, and advised V.V.S. Ayyar to set up a similar organisation in Southern India. He is only waiting for an opportunity when <u>international</u> conditions would permit of an open rising. He is disappointed that in the city of Madras there is not a (sic)
bold revolutionary; he hoped that (sic)
conditions are (sic)
----------- that the real meaning of the Khilafat movement was nothing but "Jihad" although through fear of Government for the time being they calleed it Non-co-operation V.V.S.Ayyar detailed his plans to Shaukat Ali (i.e. the plans of the Propaganda contemplated by the Hon'ble K.V.Rangasamy Ayyangar) and said that his plans may take two years or so to mature for an open rising. But Shaukat Ali laughed at it and said that the present is quite ripe and propitious any how he hopes that before the end of this year the whole country will be ablaze with anarchy,; he has in mind the possibility of any action taken by the Government in supressing ~~in~~ an affray or riot in connecion with Non-co-operation accelerating a <u>General</u> rebellion or at any rate a

rebellion on a big scale. He exhorted V.V.S.Ayyar to get into touch at once with the inner current of the Khilafat movement. He (shaukat Ali) promised to try and pick up the real patriots during his tour in the South and communicate their names to V.V.S.Ayyar, Shaukat Ali concluded that God had already decreed the fall of the British Empire and Mr. Montagu will be the ultimate instrument through whom the fall will be effected.

2. Regarding Gandhi. He never talks or (sic)
to violence in his conversations (sic)
co-operation propaganda. (sic)
thinks is the (sic)
. . . . present he does not care whether or not any large number of men follow it, even if one title-holder or one holder of an honorary office resigns his title or office on the principle laid down by him, he thinks his object has been gained. The movement is bound to materialise into a power, if not in the immediate future, a few decades hence when conditions in India would be similar to those in England.

3. The local Khilafat Committee including Yakub Hasan have in a private conference, decided that the adoption of Gandhi's Non-co-operation propaganda in its entirety is not within the range of practical politics, to start with the propaganda may be tried in a modified form.

4. Subrahmanya Siva returned from Ambur where he had been busy with the District Khilafat Conference, on the 18th; he will start on the 20th for Villapuram to attend the South Arcot District Conference.

5. Subbrahmanya Siva's impressions of Gandhi are shared by several other people. Gandhi is an unpractical man self-willed and obstinate to the last degree.

6. Propaganda to seduce troops. Nothing (sic) stantially heard. A retired clerk (sic) Department attached to the (sic) was heard to (sic) able of being seduced; had they been Sikhs it would have been different. There are however 300 retired military soldiers in the city and they are ready to draw sword at any moment for Islam.

7. Regarding Shukat Ali and Gandhi giving up their Bangalore trip. One rumour says that the British Redident has privately warned them to abandon their visit to Bangalore the reason being he was afraid that their lectures will have an exciting influence over the Indian troops.

8. The leader in the "Quami Report" of 18th instant is full of suggestions and inspiring references to the political and industrial situation in Europe and particularly in England. It comments on the attitude of the Labour party in England who have openly threatened with non-co-operation and becoming Bolshevik in case the Government declare war in Bolshevik Russia and proceeded to ask how 70 millions of Mussalmans in India Could be blamed if out of religious sympathy, they support Turkey's cause.

1020 C
235/7
23rd Aug.

Extracts from M.K.Gandhi's speech at Nagore, on the 16th August 1920 are submitted.

*   **   *

The great receiption that you have give us shows that Mussalmans of Nagore fopm a very prosperous community You go tomorrow, if you have the will, take possession of all your schools, give notice to the Government that they are no longer under their control do not any longer require their aid. You can conduct your shcools under your own supervision.   *   *   *

It is my settled conviction that Hindu-Muhammadan unity - not merely in mame but in deed - is more essential than the British connection. .

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1022 C
23rd Aug

Copy of a report No.105 dated the 21st August 1920 from an officer of thid department is submitted.

*   *   *

It would appear that an Indian gentleman asked A.Rungasamy Ayyangar the editor of the Swadeshimitran" as to how it was that the Indian papers which generally made so much fuss in the matter of low pay of the rank and file of several departments have been rather lukewarm in advocating the caus e of the subordinates and provincial section of the Police Department. The latter is said to have replied "We are so purposely; we want a discomntended Police in India just now; we do not want a happy and contented Police".

268
62. 259
10230
235/7
23rd Aug

Copy of a report dated the 20th August 1920, from an officer of this department, regarding the Khilafat agitation, is submitted.

* * *

I respectfully submit that Khan Bahadur Hajee Badruddin of Vaniyambadi, a Piece Goods and Skin and Hides Merchant, Madras, and Secretary of the Muhammadan Educational Society, Vaniyambadi, was compelled to give up his title by the Khilafat Committee. It appears he asked the following three queries:-

(1) What Good will come out of the renunciation of titles.

(2) Will his resignation affect the grant of the Government to the Madrasia Islamiah, Vaniambadi of which he is the secretary?

(3) What will they do if he refuses to resign?

M. Abdul. Khadir Khalis who (sic)

warned by the District Magistrate, North (sic)

his mischevious Khilafat (sic).

(1) The nation (sic)

-------- cannot withhold the grant, and if they do, the nation will give it. (3) He will be removed from the Secretaryship. He will not be allowed in the Mosques. Muslims will excommunicate him, and will not take part in any ceremonies in his house. If he dies Muslims will not arrange his funeral but the Government will informed of his death so that they may arrange it.

The above reply, I understand, has caused a sensation in Vaniyambadi, as it has done in Periamet and Godown Street, and it is said to bear of the stamp of the approval of the fanatic Nationalists.

Fruther course is being watched.

1024 C
235/7
23rd August

Extracts from speeches deliverd by M.K.Gandhi, and Shaukat Ali, at Calicut on the 18th August 1920. Subject Non-co-operation. Audience. Ten to fifteen thousand. The speeches were recorded in shorthand and notes are on record.

* * *

M.K.GANDHI.

I am here to declare for the tenth time before this great audience that on the Khilafat matter the British Government have wounded the Moslem sentiment as they have never done before and I say without fear of contradiction that if the Mussalmans of India had not exercised exemplary self-restraint and if they had not accepted the gospel of Non-co-operation preached to them and if they had not accepted the spirit of that gospel there would have been bloodshed in India by this time.*

********* I consider the eternal (sic)
Hindus and Mussalmans as (sic)
ant than the British (sic)
day (sic)
brought about by the British bayonet between Hindus and Mussalmans.

SHAUKAT ALI.

For 17 years I gave honest service to my country and to the King whom I acknowledged then. I am obliged to say that today unless my religious placate demands are fully satisfied I cannot give my loyalty which was always conditional to my King, to my sovereign to whom I owed allegiance before. * * * * * *

I you are strong and capable then it is your bounden duty so long as there is one Mussalman to breathe to fight the unjust King, the unjust Government that have proved

to be an enemy to your faith and to your God, or if you are weak and could not cope physically with your opponents then it is incumbent for you to go, migrate, to another country and leave that unjust kingdom and that unjust tyrant and King. * * * * * * *

I assure you that the Mussalman feeling is sore, the Mussalman feeling is so strong that he cannot fully express it and I know this much also that if it was not for the efforts and advice of Mahatma Gandhi, no power on earth would have controlled the Mussalmans in India. * * * * * * * * *

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1025
235/7
23rd Aug.

Copy of a report from an officer of this department, dated the 20th August 1920, regarding the Khilafat agitation

* * * *

The enclosed letter is from Shaik Amir Husain, a 2nd class student of the Government Madrasia Azam who has been under my care since last year. He complains that he was over borne with meances by some of the Khilafat Volunteers. Ever since they were warned by the Principal of the College they have assumed a more violent attitude.

The wire puller is Saiyid Abdul Khadir, M.A., L.T., Logic Professor of the College, and a frequent writer in the "Muhammadan", who secretly figures in many fanatic activities. It is mentioned in the letter than when (sic)
spoke to the students about the pasting of a (sic)
notice in the class, he openly said (sic)
guard against a Police (sic)
course (sic)
observed that his ground for warning to the students was not it was bad for them to take part in a political movement but that the C.I.D. would come to know their action and bring trouble to them and himself. This doubtlessly betrays his mind in the matter. I think it is no business of a Professor of a College, much less a Government College, to speak thus in a class room.

I may be permitted to submit that should this matter go to the notice of the Principal it is better Mr.Douglas deals with it. I understand he will return from leave on the 31st. The acting Principal, Mr.Mohammed Sahib of the North, is no oubt a man who can be relied on in this matter, He belongs to Ahmediya Party (Quadian Party) which is opposed to the Khilafat movement. But my own fear is that he may lack the tact necessary in dealing with confidential matter of this sort.

Copy of the letter referred to in the above report.

As I was passing through Jain Jahan Khan Street at about twelve noon on Friday the 13th instant, some of the members of the Muslim Volunteer Club (sic)

at Mr.Amir Ali's house which is (sic)

Muslim Volunteer Club (sic)

and Mr. Abdul (sic)

\- - - -

others whose names I am ignorant of.

At first Mr. A.H.Mahajeer called me and I went to him since he was my classmate. Then he asked me whether I was an informer to the C.I.D. But I replied that I was not so, since I was not in reality undertaking such a task. Then all of them said that they cannot believe my saying since one of the members of the staff of the Government Madaras-i-Azam himself had infromed them that I was the persons that was informing the secrets of the Muslim Volunteers to the C.I.D. Afterwards I even swore that I was not so.

Despite all my denial they began to tease me. One of them by name Mr.Omer jested at me by saying that I might have infromed the secrets of the above Volunteers to the C.I.D. only once and that a sheep which was under the care of a tiger whom he mentioned to be yourself, would surely be forced to act according to the orders of the tiger. But I replied that as I was not under your charge the present year, I should not be obliged to inform you the secrets of the Volunteers and also that even you yourself never asked me about those things.

But they did not believe in all these sayigs and began to tease me the more. Another of them (sic)

Ghulam Ahmed, a non-student, asked (sic)

the informer of the C.I.D. (sic)

Volunteer (sic)

\- - - - - -

I cannot join the Corps., since I had been strictly forbidden by the Principal not to do so. Then he asked me whether I was not willing to join the C.I.D. but I replied that I was not in need of any appointment since I was a student. As both of these people were teasing me like this, the others also were jesting at me and kept laughing. Then I took leave and returned home. They even asked me whether I was hunting about for their secrets by going up and down their clubs since it was a holiday for me. But I gave a negative reply. Throughout their conversation they were maintaining a threatening attitude.

Before this incident took place, I herard from the Volunteers themselves that an order from the Government had come to nine of them, Mr.Syed Abdul Khadir M.A., L.T., (Logic professor in the Government Muhammadan College) and Mr. Rahmathulla Khan (First Form teacher in the Government Madras-i-Azam) that as they were taking part in the Khilafat they should quit the institution or should discontinue taking part in the Khilafat. So that they suspect that some C.I.D. officer might have noted down their names and sent to the Government and that I should be the communicator since I was the only person in the College who is under the charge of (sic) and also a non-Volunteer (sic)
The (sic)

- - - - - - - - - - -

C.I.D. This, the statement of theirs, I believe to be true since, on a certain day when one of the Volunteers had stuck a notice concerning the Khilafat on the map-stand, Mr.S.Abdul Khadir, M.A.L.T., asked them not to do so since the reports of the Volunteers were being communicated to the C.I.D. by some of their friends themselves, and that it was injurious both for the students and himself who was in charge of the students at that time, if the reports were being carried to the C.I.D.

So I believe that one of the members of the staff himself shold have instisted the Muslim Volunteers to tease me in all these ways. Moreover as the Volunteers, are sowing everywhere the seed that I am the informer to the C.I.D., I think that they have a grudge against me, and I do not know what they will do against me in the future. From their behaviour towards me I am afraid they will use violence against me. In the last Friday incident had I not behaved submissively in spite of their violent atitudes they would have beaten me. I write this, therefore, to protect me from their misbhief.

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275
260
69.

10286
235/7
24th Aug.

Copy of a report dated the 24th August 1920, from an Officer of this department regarding the Khilafat agitation.

* * * * *

I respectfully submit that at the Khilafat Executive Comittee meeting held last evening it was proposed that the pensioned Government servants holding titles need not renounce their titles. There was animated discussion over it. The young party went so far as to say that they should be compelled to give them up on the pain of public hooting and violence if necessary. It was also suggested that if the Government stopped their pensions , the Khilafat Committee should take up their maintenance.

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276 276 70 261

Advance copy of paragraph of Madras Police 29 / 28 8 20

GANDHI AND SHAUKAT ALI AT CALICUT. 18th August 1920.

The party arrived at Calicut on the 18th Ausut. Generally speaking there is little sympathy with the Non-co-operation movement at Calicut, and were it not for a few fanatical mappilla youths headed by P.Moideen Kutty (paragraph) and briefless vakils led by K.Madhava Nayar (paragraph) Gopal Menon (paragraph) and P.Achutan (paragraph) no notice would be taken of it.

In the afternoon there was a private conference at Gandhi's residence. Nearly all the vakils and a few Muhammadans attended. Gandhi advised the vakils to suspend their practice and to withdraw the children from Government aided schools but apparently he failed to convince his audience, most of whom thoght his scheme unworkable. At the evening meeting, Rs. 2500/- was presented to Shaukat Ali, but he was disappointed and expected more. The Saits (Bombay merchants were responsible for the reception the local leading Muhammadans took very little interest in the visit. The money was chiefly collected on Gandhi's behalf more as a personal matter than anything else. The result of the visit generally may be regarded as a failure.

GANDHI AND SHAUKAT ALI NORTH MALABAR. 19.8.20.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali passed through North Malabar District route to Mangalore on the 19th August and returned (sic)
The train stopped at most (sic)
Enthusiasm at (sic)

- - - - - - - -

two places; some people were eveidently full of zeal but the majority were curious sight-seers. Of course there were garlands, flowers etc. flung about, and at both places the usual speeches by Gandhi at Tellichery and Shaukat Ali at Cannanore were received with cheers. The crowds were

good humoured and rather enjoyed the squash at the Railway stations. The people were xxx curious to see what the leaders were like and treated them as a huge joke at least this was the ixconclusion drawn from their faces, demeanour and conversation. The interpreter did what he could to exaggerate every sentence uttered. Every caste and tribe in Malabar was represented on the Railway stations on the h journey to Mangalore.

On the return hardly anybody came to see Gandhi at the many stations stopped at. A more unsatisfactory tour so far as North Malabar District is concerned from their point of view, could hardly be described. The Khilafat agitators have failed miserably to carry the public with them along the road to Non-co-operation, and Gandhi has broken or will break the spirit of these very agitators by his unswerving devotion to the full spirit of the idea. He cannot carry these people along the strait way he wx has laid down for their dxi d gudience. He may be a semi-lunatic but these people are not.

At cannanore they got Rs.500/- and Shaukat Ali said it was not enough.

A rumour went round in Tellicherry that the Government has for-bidden the Muhammadans of Baghdad to perfom "Mowlood" i.e. to sing poems regarding the Prophet's life. This worried the Moplahs, and that is about all.

It is also reported that one feature of the tour. is the sympathetic attitude of Government servants. At Karur, one Narasimha Achari, District Munsiff, who is known as "Home Rule Munsiff, came to the Railway station in the middle of the might to see the patriots and conversed with C.Rajagopalacha Achari; also one Balasubrahmaya Ayyar additional District Munsiff Kasargod took a (sic) Railway station.

The (sic)

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72.

- - - - at the result of the tour. He said that he had been led to expect much more enthusiasm from this Presidency. H e also said that Salem ahd done better than other places visited. Shaukat Ali announced the resignation by Kazi Muhammad Khan of his office of Honorary Magistrate of Kaverpatnam. Every endeavour has been made to get delegates who will support Non-co-operation to go to Calcutta for the ensuing Congress as doubts have been expressed as left Salem by motor for Bangalore, the Conference continued. Sharar (paragraph) Krishna Ayyar (paragraph) and Varadaraju Nayudu spoke on the resolutions. Sharar delivered a vehement speech in Urdu and referred to the Labour ultimatum in England and to the Connaught Rangers incident and remarked that it would be justifiable for the Muslims of India to protest against the unjust Peace terms with Turkey. C.Rajagopala Achari, G.Joseph, Hajee Usman of Bangalore and Murtaza Sahib were responsible for the arrgements in connection with the tour.

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279 279 73 264

Abstract No 29.
28th August '20

GANDHI AND SHAUKAT ALI AT MADRAS. 22.8.20.

Gandhi addressed the Law students on the 22nd August in the Khilafat Office compound. About three to four hundred attended among whom were only half a dozen Muhammadans.

Gandhi spoke on Khilafat, Islam and Hindu-Muslim Unity. He exported the students as to their duties and responsibilities in the Non-co-operation movement. While speaking on Islam, its glories and past rule, it appears he said that he would prefer Muslim rule in India to British rule, because the Mussalmans are his brethren. He is also reported to have said that should the Muslims turn against the Hindus would willingly allow Shaukat Ali to cut his (Gandhi's) throat.

Shaukat Ali is reported to have said that he would go to the Aligarh College of which he is a trustee (and Secretary of the Aligarh Old boys' Association) and demand that the Government aid to the college should refused otherwise he would withdraw the students from the college. He told the students that if the end and aim of their education was to seek Government service, death is preferable to such an education.

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Extract from a report No.1844/I.D., dated the 27th August 1920, from the Commissioner of Police, Madras, regarding the Khilafat agitation.

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In pursuance of the decision of the Khilafat Committee to begin the work of non-co;operation from the day of Kakrid, the Committee notified that the following individuals of Madras renounced their titles and honorary appointments noted against each of them;-

1.T.Ammeenuddin Sahib	Khan Bahadur.
2.Saiyid Abdul Quadir Sahib Jeelani.	Khan Sahib and Honorary Presidency.
3.Jamal Mohideen Sahib.	Khan Sahib.
4.Abbas Husain Sahib.	Honorary Magistrate.
5.Moulvi Zahid Husain Sahib.	Shamsul Ulma.

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Abstract No. 30.

4th Sep. 1920.

Khilafat and Non-co-operation | Khan Sahib T. Solar Sahib of Tirupattur who was awarded this decoration for good work during the Moharram riots at Tirupattur has been compelled to give up his title. A letter had already been preapred and was presented to him for signature at the Mosque after Frdiay prayers. He at first refused, and words were exchanged, but on the intervention of Moulvi Ghulam Mohideen Sahib he reluctantly consented to sign. He was then told to hand over his medal and sanad but stated that they were in Vaniyambadi. This infuriated the Khilafat party who thereupon tore up the letter and declared him excommunicated from that date.

One Moonkil Mandol Rasool Khan, a Bench Magistrate has also resigned his appointment.

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Extract from the Special Branch Report for the week ending 21st August 1920, from the District Superintendent of Police Salem.

I also enclose a copy of a leaflet distributed at the recent Khilafat Conference by Bhupati Chinna Lakshmana Raja, with a rough translation. The document is scandalous and false. I gather however, that B.C.L.Raja is aspiring to "martyrdom" and I do not recommend that he should be obliged! I showed it to the District Magistrate and he agrees. I am informed that only about 25 copies were made. I hear that he wanted to print it but that no Press would take it on. * * * * * * * *

Translation of the leaflet referred to above.

Even the Germans did not commit atrocities in Belgium like those in the Punjab. What injustice ! A white man called Dyer shot thousands of innocent people till he exhausted 1650 rounds If (sic) shu[illegible]der. (sic) [illegible]rribly. How did they treat the women? - They stripped them naked and thrust stick into their private parts. They mocked at them and beat them with canes. If we think of it our belly (heart?) burns. The people had to crawl on their bellies. They thrust sticks in the anuses of the men. They beat them with shoes. Ha! Is it to be like this under English rule; Dyer escaped to England. He should be given an appointment and sent to Ireland. If not he should be shot as suggested by the "New Witness". With him also "Chandala" O'Dwyer. There will be no room for him in Hell. Lord Chelmsford supported these fools. "Chemlford you have done enough. When are you going to sail? My Lord Goodbye. We are sure that Dyer will die full of maggots".

Servant of the Country,

O P I N I O N:

Mr. Gandhi's speech. I confess I have found great difficulty in arriving at a conclusion on this speech. The speech was addressed to the audience with the object and the sole object of obtaining redress from the Government for the t two alleged wrongs relating to the Kaliphat and the recent affair in the Punjab. The redress is to be obtained from the Government; that he makes quite clear and in one place he refers to the Government as the great Government. The means to be adopted is non-co-operation and tis he enforces on the audience with vehemence. I am of opinion that preaching on non-co-operation (i.e.) the Gandhian doctrine of non-co-operation is not by itself seditious. Non-co-operation he makes clear is for the purpose of in the demonstracting to the Government the strength of feeling in the matter in the country in order to bring home to the Government the sense of wrong under which the people are smarting. Here is nothing seditious in asking the people to demonstrate in this form. I must make it quite clear that I am not saying that if any persons or persons demonstrates of demonstrate his or their feeling or disapp roval in a particular way or manner he or they may not be punishable under some one or other of the sections of the Indian penal code or special Acts. ~~Imek~~ Under certain circumstances a person who induces another to commit an offence may be punishable as an abetter. In disapproving the acts and measures of Government for the purpose of seeking redress a certain amount of irritation is sure to be caused against the personnel of the Government; this again is excusable if disaffection is not created. In a given case if the object is legitimate, if the means suggested are legitimate, the Courts are not in the habit of weighing in nice scales, the amount of irritation likely to be caused by the speech. But if the speaker attribute unworthy motives to the Government, I should consider that speech to be seditious. There

are two passages in the speech in which I think the natural meaning of the words suggests that. At the bottom of page 15 he speaks of a Government which has made untruth and immorality as its basis in the Khalifat and the Punjab matters and at page 16 there is an implication, at least I understand it to be so, of the "Blood-gultiness" attributed to (sic) first passage the speaker had (sic) with reference to the two acts specified I would have no hesitation in concluding that the speech was seditious; as to the other what exactly he means by 'blood-guiltness' in that passage with reference to Mesopotamia is not clear. There is one matter which prevades the whole speech, which must be taken into consideration in judging of the speech. He insists and that is vital to his doctrine, that there should be no violence whatsoever and to his doctrine that there should be no violence whatsoever and that no anger or evil passion should be entertained. Non-co-operation for him must be self sacrifice and not retaliation is any sense for him must be self sacrifide and not retaliation is any sense or form. If then the audience receives his speech in the way he [illegible] insists they should receive it and if the audience do not entertain any anger or ill-will to the Government the speech may not be deditious; but if, in spite of all the goodwill on the part of the speaker in spite of his admonitions and his precepts the natural effect of the speech on the audience would be to excite ill-will towards the Government the speech would all the samen be seditious. But it is this quality in the speeches of Mr. Gandhi that makes it extremely difficult to judge of the effect of his speeches on the audience not yet composed of spritualised democracy. On the whole I would

give the benefit of the doubt to the speaker and would not advise a prosecution for sedition under section 124 A. If that conclusion is right, no action can be taken under section 108 in this case.

Speech of Mr. Shakat Ali. I think that the passages marked page 27 and page 29 where he characterises the Government as 'unjust, 'Unjust tyrant' and as 'walking in the path of sin and enemy to God' and other passages in the speech in which he accuses the Government of working so much to harm their religion and faith are certainly likely to bring the Government into hatred. The passage at page 27 where he says he would advise them to fight with physical force if only they were strong to do it tends in the same direction I think the speech offends against section 124A of the Penal Code.

9th September 1920.

K.Srinivasa Ayyangar,
ADVOCATE GENERAL.

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Referenee Note No.1012.C/S.F.235-7., dated the 19th August 1920, regarding Shaukat Ali's speech at Kumbakonam on the 16th August 1920.

2. The opinion of the Advocate General is submitted in original.

OPINION.

Government Solicitor's Reference dated 19th August 1920.

The speech preaches what is now known as non-co-operation (i.e.) not to assist the Government I do not think that by itself is seditious; though preaching certain forms of so called non-co-operation may bring the speeches under other previsions of Criminal Law. In one passage the speaker says, the Government is not his king and he is not its subject. That means I presume that he is prepared to throw up his allegiance. But a man can give up his allegiance to his sovereign, (i.e.) his nationality and become an alien without offending any Criminal Law. But that apparently is Government till it does something for him or Indian moslems. The speaker emphasises what accordingly to the Ghandian doctrine of non-co-operation is its essence Viz. "it is necessary for you to stop and cease your passion and anger". If passion and anger is stopped it is impossible to create 'disaffection'. The whole speech reads as if the speaker is forced to adopt non-co-operaton under religious compulsion and not becuase he is angry against the Government. That is likely to be the effect of the speech on the audience In these circumstances I do not think the speech offends against section 124-A of the Penal Code.

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D.O. from the Collr. of Trichinopoly d.3/8/20.

A meeting was held in Sunday night and was failry well attended. Shops were closed in the town will about 6. p.m. chiefly owing to fear of the consequences if they were open. I understand that Dr. Swaminatha Sastri and Khaza Mian Sahib announced their intention of resigning their posts in the Municipal Council. Pressure is being put on the Chairman Kalif ulla but he holds firm so far and I think he will do so. All organisation is being carried on by Hindu Nationalists. Dr Swaminatham Sastri seems to be the leader. I do not think that Muhammedan feeling is intense here or that the leading men are really aroused at a ll so far as I can see at present.

In today's tappal there is a letter of resignation from two bench magistrates at Salem.

If Shakut Hasan is correctly reported in the C.I.D. it will be necessary to take an early opportunity to lay him by the heels. It is probably a policy of desperation.

Trichinopoly, 10/8/1920

My dear Graham,

In continuation of my note the other day I will try and give an idea of the political situation here.

The closure of shops on the first was very well organized. I do not know who the movers behind the seenes were but they were aided by a body of young Muhammadans with their head-quarters near the townhall who went about and exerted their influence on all those who kept their shops open. It is pretty clear from what I hear that the reason why there was such general compliance with the notice recommending closure was that many shop keepers are afraid of the results if they do not close. On the other hand after six o'clock all the shops opened and I fancy that there was considerable annoyance on the part of the shopkeepers that their trade had been interfered with.

Of the meeting on the first I have had no official report. A moderate who attended gave me an account which would had led me to expect considerable results. He said that Dr. Rajan at the end of his speech asked all those who were ready to die for their faith to stand (or express their ~~present~~ assent in some other way) and that practically the whole of the meeting responded. On the other hand the net result is the resignation of one municipal councillor who is already a leading expremist and that too a Hindu viz Dr. Saminatha Sastri. My conclusion is that Moderate reports of these things are not to be truested. This was the conclusion I was coming to befour need of their services or to induce us to take action which might suit them. I am speaking of cours of smaller men.

The chairman had a great deal of pressure put upon him. I do not know what it is that keeps him to the attitude of stady loyalty and co-operation which he holds (though he is a very true and keen Muhammadan).

It may that his èducation leads him to see that te course which the other party is following will not lead them anywhere. I often see him and I think his position as a leader is strenghthening although he is a very young man. He seems to keep his head steady and I think this is impressing those round him.

As I said before all the hard work in the Noncoop movement is doen by nationalists.

On two days last week Srinivasa Sastri was here lecturing at the our new constitution. He speaks very clearly and gives the impression of a very able man. The first night when I was there a great deal of laughter. Evidently as he said himself his audience had already strong prepossessions. But I understand thatthe next night he had a better hearing and even invited hecklers and answered them very well. This ought to create an impression on the young and very impression student class.

It is more and more clear to me that the one fact which matters at present is that the events of last year have created in the minds of the majority of Indians of those who are quite loyal by nature a feelings of uneasiness and in many cases of distrust of our rule. It is not hard of uneasiness and in many cases of distruest of our rule; It is not hard to understand how this has come to be. The immediate problem is how to overcome that feeling. If it were to be strenghtened by our further action it would seriously imperil the future.

I do not think any "action" on our part will overcome it. It has to lived down. But no "reform" or constitution will mend matters so long as this feeling is acute.

Yours sincerely.

Collector's Office.

2-8-1920.

My dear Graham,

The local papers have likely been full of proposed visit to Malabar and Mangalore by Gandhi Shaukat Ali and Kuchlew and I learn that a meeting held yesterday it was decided to write them to calicut and probably also to Tellichery and Cannanore.

Since I last wrote on the subject of Khilaphat conditions have changed and the respectable Mapillas influenced by various motives chief of which are religious propaganda and fear of what the others well day have veered round from an attidue of indifference to one which all the least amounts to a willingness to extend a welcome to the "bigh Three". While Mapilla opinion was divided I had hope of while Mapilla being able to deal with a visit form Shaukat Ali alone without troubling you with Mappillas opinion outwardly atleast united and in agrrement with Hindu Nationalist opinion the situation is changed. If the there all persumbted to come and speak I cannot make a move until one or other of them says something which will unable on to act under 708 C.P.C. and the Gandhi programme has been devised cleverly to bring anything he is likely to say within the explanations to § 108 C.P.C. which are referred to in § 108 C.P.C. Government have stated the difficulties of using § 144 C.P.C. in D.O. 166 S. D/ 16th June

If therefore they come I think my attitude should be one of mere watchfulness and that I should not interfere unless plain sedition is talk.

But I would much prefer not to have them here all if they can be prevented from coming Mapillas hitherto loyal and supporting the Government may feel that they must go with the

and should Shaukat Ali Ki with the best of they come here they would much prefer not to see them at all a quite clear that it would be much better for the district. I can't estimate the effect on the outbreak are aof speech s on the familiar Khilafat lines clerverly blending religion politics to d the Government. They will certainly be reported throughout Malabar. I reported I think that the Hartal was observed to some degree all Koudotti and 17 miles from Calicut and about 16 miles from Manjeri outside the normal outbreak area but on the way to it; I donot want the movement in any form to spread want the movement in any form further. The best way to which it from doing so would be to present Shaukat Ali his friends firm coming here at all. My difficulty is that if I take preventure measures on their arrival so doing may precipitate the I am anxious to prevent. But if Government think I should do so I will.

I Enclose a note pages 41-44 C.F. written for me by the Head quarters Deputy Collector about a meeting held yesterday he is in close touch with Mapillas opinion here. The first and third signalores of the notice convening that meeting are perfectly good men who had to abdicate them of leaders.

Yours sincerely

SD. G.A.Thomas.

Collector's Office,
14 -- 8 -- 1920.

My dear Graham,

Your D.O. 200s & 202s. dated 12th August.

You must have received my letter of the same date asking Government to prohibit the entry of Shaukat Ali and Gandhi into Malabar.

In view of yourtwo letters I withdraw that request I would much rather not have them have but as their visit is only for one day and will involve only one speech I do not think that much harm will be done locally and is result will accrue in the Malappuram Division. I am able to eat my words of the 12th as I have seen Amer Dy.Supdt. Police on his return from a mission on which I sent him to Kondothi. He tells me the Kartal there was not much of a thing and the Tangal and others who arranged it were misled and now regretted their actions. If there were the chance of Shaukat Ali visiting Malappuram a campaign District I would still press for his absence. I think we can undo much of his efforts after he goes with a little tact.

Yours sincerely,
Sd. G.A. Thomas.

Trichinopoly.

My dear Graham,

Incontinuation of the note I sent you the other day in the visit of Mr. Gandhi and his party. I have now the full report of the speeches. I hardly think the bear out the glowing account which appeared in the Mail.

It appears that there were constant interruptions during the his address and that a very great number of those present could not have heard what he said. The peporter himself has had to leave several blanks in his notes. It is evident that such phrases as 'All lawyers may surrender their practice tomorrow' were received with laughter which was not sympathetic.

Two things are worthy of notice in the speech. I trace an increase of bitterness in the tone of the speaker, He said 'The first condition of going to the councils must be good-will on the part of the Rulers. That is absolutely lacking. In the place of goodwill you have got nothing but injustice. I fear that this feeling has been raised by much of the speaking and writing in the papers especially in Northern India are the Dyer case. This is a time to recognise facts. If we lose the confidence of the people we cannot continue to work here and intemperate and prejudiced writing by Europeans has done very much to increase the feeling of distrust which the actual facts of the Amritsar affair had roused.

A further fact of importance is that Mr.Gandhi recognises consciously the result of success in the movement he has initiated. He says 'Everybody believes and knows that this Government of ours exists only by Co-operation..........The converse of that also is equally true that Government cannot stand if this co-operation on which it exists is with drawn.

That is to say that the conscious object of the scheme is the breakdown of Government. But I doubt if Mr.Gandhi realises that the downfall of this Government would mean in this land as it has meant in Russia the breakdown of Government as such and a disaster of a magnitude he can hardly have realised. It would be a good thing if this were pointed out in the public speeches of those who have the freedom to speak. For it is the final condemnation of a programme that its success would mean the ruin of the country.

On the other hand I do not be lieve that this visit has made any real mark in the town. The chairman has been further alienated from the Khilafat party. He told me they had no arguments but expected him to follow them blindly. I find the usual pleaders in court and do not see that there is any difference in their attitude. So I am hopeful that this will become a lost cause at the end of it.

Yours very sincerely,

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History of the Khilafat movement in the Madras Presid.

EXTRACTS FROM SECRET FILES ON TURKISH PEACE TERMS AND MUHAMMADAN AGITATION.

(Secret File No.307 A dated 4-12-1920 Volume VIII - Non-co-operation Resignation of titles - Election etc. Serial No.131).

****

CONFIDENTIAL.

Government of Madras

Public D.O.3426-1.

Stonehouse Hill,

11th September 1920.

Dear

Non-co-operation movement - Resignations of titles and honarary offices - Attitude of Government.

I am directed to communicate to you for your information and guidance the following instructions of the Government of India in regard to the action to be taken when title-holders offer to resign their titles in pursuance of the non-co-operation movement and return their badges and sanads. It is considered undesirable to give any sort of advertisement to the persons concerned, as for example by notification in the official gazette of their renunciatio of title or of their removal from Darbar lists. Their badges and sanads will merely be returned from the Local Government who will transmit them to the Government of India, and their names will be removed from Darbar lists where such exist. But it should be ensured that while on the one hand such persons shall not be molested in any way for their action on the other hand they will not be received by any official after they have taken such action, as they will have openly and publicly dissociated themselves from the Government. The same remark applies <u>mutatis mutandis</u> to persons who have for similar reasons resigned honarary offices.

2. The question has also been raised whether title holders who have renounced their titles should continue to be recognised by these titles in official correspondence and official records. In the case of the membership of the various orders, it has already been decided that as the statutes statues do not specifically provide for dismissal in the event of voluntary resignation no motion should be taken to enforce the penalty of dismissal. The names of persons voluntarily resigning membership of these Orders will therefore remain on the rolls of the Orders, and their titles

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will continue to be used in official correspondence. But it is not considered necessary to apply the same principle to Indian Orders or to English decorations other than orders and in all such cases the renouncers of titles etc. will have their names removed from the lists of title-holders as well as from the Darbar lists and the title-holders as well as from the Darbar lists and the titles in question will be ignored in official correspondence and records. Will you please see that the instructions in the first paragraph are communicated to the officers subordinate to you. A list of persons who have resigned their titles will be compiled and a copy will be forwarded to you for your information.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,
Dated 13th September 1920.

Copy of a report dated the 12th September 1920, from an officer of this department, regarding the Khilafat Agitation.

* * *

With reference to the boycott of Saadulla Badsha Sahib and his godowns, I beg to submit that Hyder Khan and Co., of the Godown Street and others have put a very great pressure upon all the Mofussil merchants and the agents and brokers so much so, that he was put to a great loss. It would appear that his partner Mr. Abdus Sathan has been prevailed upon not to work heart and soul for the good of the firm till Mr. Saadulla Badsha tenders an apology to the Madras Khilafat Committee for issuing a pamphlet exposing the doings of the Committee and accepting the nomination by the Government in the vacant seat of Mr. Yakub Hasan in the Madras Corporation.

It is rumoured that he was a little non-plussed over the boycott and intimated to Messrs. Hyder Khan and Co., of his intention to tender an apology and requested them to dictate to him the terms. It is also stated that they are expecting the decision of the Madras Khilafat Committee, who would issue their mandates at an early period against all tose who are working against them.

Mr. Saadulla Badsha in an ~~xxx~~ interview states that he is not willing to tender an apology and that he intends suing for damages against all those who placed some orders and refused later on to have any connection with his firm and also to proceed against those who have dissuaded the agents and brokers to boycott him, thus causing a great loss to his godowns.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

S.B.
Madras.

Extracts from a report dated the 13th September 1920, from an officer of this department regarding the Khilafat agitation.

I respectfully submit that I attended the Special Sessions of the Indian National Congress, Muslim League and the Khilafat Conference held in Calcutta Last week. * * * * * * the following are matters of special interest to our Province. They have seen and are not likely to see, the light of the day.

1. Among the numerous amendments to Mr. Gandhi's resolution there was one by K.B.Madhava Rao of Nellore. It was to the effect that Peasants' Councils all over the country should be started, and refusal to pay taxes should be tagged on to the resolution. The president in a private interview with Madhava Rao said that the first part of the amendment would be viewed with suspicion by the Government because it is after the model of such coucils in Bolshevik Russia; about the second part, Mr. Gandhi deliberately dropped it from his original programme because he wanted to approac the masses to refuse to pay the taxes after the leaders had set an example of carrying out Non-co-operation as far as it affects them. After much discussion the amendment was withdrawn by Madhava Rao.

2. Boycott of Foreign goods. This was not in Gandhi's original resolution. C.Vijiaraghava Achariar of Salem proposed the boycott of British Goods. Gandhi opposed it because it breathed hatred. There was animated discussion. The concours of opinion being in favour of it, Gandhi accepted it with the change of British Goods

to foreign goods much against his will as he himself expressed.

3. When Kasturiranga Ayyangar, Satyamurti, A.Rangaswamy Ayyangar found that there was a large majority of Madras delegates in favour of Gandhi's resolution they set up Chari of Chari and Co., Calcutta, to enlist new delegates. About 70 (many of these were connected ~~fx~~ with his firm) were enlisted on the day of Non-co-operation resolution was moved in the Congress. This subterfuge caused much indignation in the other camp. Many of the ~~Muss~~ Mussalman delegates of the South said that they would see that the Hindu and Swadeshimitran are boycotted by their following.

4. Having previously got scent that Kasturiranga Ayyangar's party would oppose Gandhi's resolution because it prevents them from getting into the councils and practising in the Law Courts the Khilafat supports who formed the majority of the Madras delegates purposely did not elect any body of that party as their representatives in the Subjects Committee. The enclosed green paper was printed beforehand and on the eve of the election was put into the hands of their men, so that only those mentioned therein should be elected as their representatives. * * *

Forwarded for information to the chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Ootacumund.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,
Dated 14th September 1920.

Extracts from a report dated the 13th September, from an Officer of this Department, regarding the Khilafat Agitation.******

During my Stay in Calcutta I interviewed the marginally noted fanatics.****** // Their statements which were substantially unanimous are as follows:

Moulana Abdul Majid of Badaoon,UP
Moulana Kifayatulla of Delhi
Abdul Kalam Azid of Calcutta
Moulana Aziz Gul of Deoband, U.P.(He was interned in Malta with Mohmodul Hasain)
Moulvi Ubedulla of Amritsar.
Moulvi Abdul Gafoor of Peshavar.
Moulvi Mohamed Davood Ghaznavi (I interviewed him at Amritsar also and reported the result to our office, and Hakkem Sahim,D.S.P. Lahore).

(1) Non-co-operation is only a trial measure, is taken up in the absence of arms, and to secure the lead of Mr. Gandhi. In the event of its failure, th

they will resort to secret measures to kill Europeans. This corroborates what Shaukat Ali told Madhava Rao (mentioned in the other report) and to Moulvi Saiyid Murtaza Sahib.

(2) Mr. Willoughby's murder was looked on as the heroic act of a martyr. They assert that such isolated would be perpetrated all over the country and lead the Khilafat cause to triumph as the assassinations of Europeans led to the annulment of the Partition of Bengal.

(3) They are for Hijrat, because they say that it helps the cause of Jihad. (Moulvi Nisar Ahmed of Cawnpore said the same thing) Inasmuch as the Indian Muslims cannot resort to Jihad in India as they have no arms, Hijrat will help them to join the Islamic armies and fight against the British.

They do not believe that the Amir of Afghanistan is opposed to Indian Muslims Hijrat Movement. Their version is that the Amir wanted the Indian Muhajirins to go to the Afghan frontier of Turkistan, join the army there, and cultivate lands. Some of the Muhajirins were not inclined to undertake the journey and so returned to India.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

No. 2558 H

Dated 18th September 1920.

Copy of a report No.1999/I.D. dated the 17th September 1920, from the Commissioner of Police, Madras, regarding the Khilafat Agitation.

* * *

Now that the Khilafat agitators have come back from Calcutta after attending the Special Congress, the scheme of Non-co-operatio which they ado ed has been taken up for work.

Encouraged by the Success attending their efforts to boycott Mr. Sadulla Badsha Sahib who on account of the combined opposition of the Godown Street merchants, has been obliged to wind up his piece-goods business, they want to apply this method to

to all other merchants who do not want to fall in with their views.

As a first move they want to boycott "Khan Bahadur" Abdul Aziz Sahib for his refusing to renounce the title of "Khan Bahadur" They want also to approach "Shamsul Ulma Khazi" Obeidulla Sahib, "Khan Bahadur" Raouf Ahmed Sahib Parthose and "Khan Bahadur" Dr. Muhammad Usman Sahib and ask them to renounce their titles.

The Urdu daily "Jaridah-i-Rozgar" which has been opposing the Khilafat movement and has been exposing the defects in the management of the Khilafat Committee has almost been crushed and the paper has hardly any circulation either in Madras or in the Mofussil.

On the other hand, the "Qaumi Report" which has been the champion of the cause of Khilafat and which has been indulging in unbridled abuse of the Khilafat opponents, is being encouraged by undue patronage and bribes. This paper has been writing about non-co-operation and has called on the Mussalmans to prepare themselves to make sacrifices in the cause of Islam.

With all that, the Non-co-operation movement which had among its votaries the merchants of Madras has become now a subject of serious though on account of the inclusion in it of the boycott of foreign goods. If the Non-co-operation is to be worked out according to the behests of the Congress, the merchant class becomes the worst sufferer. This class lent its support to the original programme of Mr. Gandhi under the belif that they could stand outside and compel others to take to Non-co-operation. Now that their own interests have become involved they have begun to think how best to evolve a scheme that while giving them an opportunity to trade in foreign goods would not expose them to the charge of inconsistancy. Some of them say that the Khilafat Conference and the Muslim League not having passed the resolution finally adopted by the Congress, they, as members of the Khilafat Committee are not bound to obey the mandate of the Congress; while others maintain that it is objectionable to import foreign goods but it is not objectionable to trade in goods they have been imported. The matter is still under discussion and has not yet taken shape.

S.B.
Madras.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

Copy of report from an Officer of this Department, dated the 18th September 1920.

Moulvi Saiyid Murtuza Sahib of Trichinopoly was my guest yesterday and day before on his way from Calcutta, I got out the following facts from him.

He said ~~thx~~ he was profoundly impressed with the intimate touch with Shaukat Ali had with the Bolshevik and Afghan events, and through many unsuspected sources he was in communication with him.

He had it from Shaukat Ali that the hostility reported in the papers between the Amir and the Bolsheviks was incorrect and on the other hand a treaty was secretly concluded between the Afghans and the Bolsheviks for the common object of invading India, and the supreme command of the invasion would be in the hands of Enver Pasha whose name would charm the Indian Muslims and induce them to join his banner. Shaukat Ali impressed on him to secretly spread this intelligence among the people.

While he took leave of departure from Shaukat Ali, the latter said in Urdu "Moulana, you must set your Province in flames", meaning that he should carry on the agitation to such a pitch.

Regarding Hijrat, he expressed the same views as the Moulvies whom I interviewed in Calcutta, expressed.

It was arranged in Calcutta that Mohammad Ali should visit the Madras Presidency after his arrival in India about the end of this month.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 21st September 1920.

Copy of a report dated the 20th September 1920, from an Officer of this department, regarding the Khilafat Agitation.

I respectfully submit that the Khilafat Committee has obtained by persuasion the resignation of Honorary Magistrateship from Mr. Jamal Ibraheem, Brother of M. Jamal Mohammad. He was made to sign a letter in English addressed to the Collector and District Magis.-trate, Madura announcing the resignation of the Honaryary Magistracy for the town of Dindigul. A copy of the letter will be sent to the Press also.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 25th September 1920.

Copy of a letter dated the 15th September 1920, from N.S. Ramaswami Ayyangar, Coimbatore, to the address of Dewan Chananlal, Assistant Editor, "Bombay Chronicle," Bombay, is submitted for information.

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I regret owing to want of time, neither I nor Satyamurti was able to meet you before we left Calcutta.

Now I request you to keep me in constant touch with the progress of the Trade Union Congress. I think the future of the country depends on organisation of labour and the formation in a short time of a labour party fighting for the cause of urban as well as rural labour.

I think it is desirable you put the fee for application to the Congress at some definite figure say 5 Rs. or 10 Rs. per each Union and not one anna per head. If you wish you may make a distinction between unions in the Metropolis of Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, etc. and upcountry parts. It is something hard to rear up unions in places outside Capital Cities and one anna per head will be too heavy.**

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Strictly confidential.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department.

No 1163.

Dated 30th September 1920.

Extracts from the Special Branch report of the District Superintendent of Police, Anantapur, for the week ending the 25th September 1920, regarding the Khilafat Agitation.

* * *

Some members of the local Muhammadan Volunteers in Hindupur bullied and assaulted a local Muhammada for not co-operating with them and a case under 148 and 326 Indian Penal Code is proceeding.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

from the special branch, criminal investigation department,

No. 1171

dated 5th October 1920.

Copy of a report No.2125/I.D., dated the 1st October 1920, from the Commissioner of Police Madras, regarding the Khilafat Agitation.

* * *

Under the auspices of the Khilafat Committee, a mass meeting was held yesterday (30/9/20) at about 5-45 p.m. on the beach opposit to the Presidency College, Mr. Karandikar presided. When the Meeting was commenced there were about 300 persons present, but as the meeting proceeded the number rose to about 1500. The audience consisted mostly of Hindus and there were very few Mussalmans. Among te the Hindus Mr. C.Rajagopalachari, Dr.Varadarajulu Nayudu and Dr. Rajan were the prominent men among the Mussalmans present were Dr. Latif Sayee and Messrs Hammed Khan, Valiulla Badsha, Nathe Sahib and Abbas Hussain.

Dr. Rajan was the first speaker. ***** he rediculed the attitude of the Moderates and of those that by obstructive tactics hoped to get justice in the question of Khilafat and the Punjab atrocities. He criticised Mr. Sastri for not having resigned his post when the Punjab resolution was vetoed. The mention of the name Mr. Sastri elicited the shouts of "Shame","Shame"!

Then Mr. Sharar Spoke in Urdu in his usual elequent style. ** ** ** ** ** He said that the question of Khilafat was a religious question and any Mussalman who showed any indifference in the working of Non-co-operation could not possibly be a Mussalman. He animadverted on the conduct of those that went to see the Governors the Viceroys and personages of high position. He said that they had not the sympathy of the people at heart and they cared only for their own pleasures. He cited the instance of the Punjab where no high official visited the scene of the murder of several innocent people. He called on the people not to crowd in to see the Duke of Connaught during his expected visit. He said that the Councils should be boycotted; that if any go there, let them not be the real representatives of the people. Ignorant and foolish men who may be returned to th) ** ** ** ** ** He ridiculed the attitude of the moderates and of those that by obstructive tactics hoped to get justice in the question of Khilafat and the Punjab atrocities. He xxxxx criticised Mr. Sastri for not having resigned his post when the Punjab resolution was vetoed. The mention of the name Mr) He also said that so many officials were being treated as so many birds kept in cages as curious for the Government Governors and others to see and be pleased. Each bird was introduced as a very obedient and humble servant and the official so introduced felt much gratified.

He concluded by saying that he had to go away to Bombay on an urgent call from Mr. Shaukat Ali and that he could not do full justice to the subject. He asked the audience to take up his work if he did not return from Bombay.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari spoke about the boycott of Councils. He said that to show the disapproval of the people at the conduct of the Government in respect of the Punjab affairs and the Khilafat they should keep the council Chamber empty when the Duke of Connaught visits India so that he may carry a melancholy message from India that all is not well with India and its people.

Mr. Karandikar in winding up the proceedings said that he was

a strong opponent of the question of non-co-operation and yet he came out to preach non-co-operation as the National Congress had by a majority passed the resolution of Non-co-operation.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 6th October 1920.

Copy of a latter dated the 28th September 1920, from Mohammed Valliulla Badsha, Madras, to Shaukat Ali, is submitted for information.

(COPY)

The Madras Presidency Khilafat Committee.

Madras, 28th September 1920.

My dear and esteemed brother,

From your letter of the 20th Instant, I was glad to learn that you have returned to Bombay and are well.

As for the boycott of the Councils and other items of our resolution as you know arrangements have been made for propaganda work in our Presidency. I hope God will bless our efforts with success. Still in order to assure the desired success, as you have kindly promised the presence in our midst of our esteened brother Mohomel Ali in the second fortnight of October next will not be essential, but enevitable. So I request you to kindly arrange his programme in such a way as to enable him to give his fortnight in October to us. He will be great help to us. ** ** **

Yours affectionately,

Sd./Mohomed Valliulla Badsha.

N.B. Our President has not yet resigned his title. We are trying our best.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch,Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated the 12th October 1920.

Copy of a report No.2182/I.D.? dated the 9th October 1920, from the Commissioner of Police, Madras regarding the Khilafat agitation

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It is learnt that Mr. Yakub Hasan is preparing to go to Afghanistan to confer with the Amir and to arrange for the confort and convenience of the Muhajarins.

The Muslim volunteer corps has lots its popularity Mr. Ghulam Dastagir Sahib, it appears, has resigned the captainship of the Corps and all the students of the Madrasa-i-Azam were obliged, on account of the order, of the Principal to sever their connections with it. In consequence of this the ranks of the Corps have become thinned and much of the enthusiasm and the Khilafat agitators evinced in the beginning has died out. Now fresh attempt is being made to enlist non-student young men in the force. Applications havebeen invited from all young men who are not students to joing the Corps. Even this attempt does not appear to have met with much success.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch,Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 12th October 1920.

Copy of a letter dated the 30th September 1920, from Mahomed Valliullah Badsha, Madras to Moulana Shaukat Ali, is submitted for information.

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COPY.

Post Box 22, Office,

Badsha Building,

Madras, 30 -- 9 -- 20.

Respected and esteemed brother and faithful son of Islam,

** ** We have commenced the propaganda work and our agents have gone to different places to get signature in Council declaration from and to educated the masses not to elect any one. The same

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same work has been started in the City and we have appointed 5 Hindus and 5 Muslims to preach about Non-co-operation in the city every day. Mr. Jamal Mohamed and Abdul Hakin have come to Madras today. We shall commence the collection work from 2nd October and shall remit you. Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar and Dr. Ranjan, Maulvi Murteza Sahib and other will leave Madras for Salem, Trichy, Madura etc. on 1st October to do propagand a work. We intend appointing 4 Moulvis to preach Non-co-operation. We will suceed in our Cause it may take long time even. Our brother Mr. Yakub Hasan has arrived here this morning with his wife from Calcutta. We are awaiting for your Urdu Translator who is very badly wanted here. If you have the English translation of Moulana Azad's book, plase send us about 50 copies, we have not received any communications from you about Calcutta Khilafat Conference.

Some people here say that boycott of Council has not been passed by Khilafat Conference, but only by League and Congress. You must know that the Muslims of this place have much respect and regard for Khilafat Committee's orderand resolution.

We however are asking people to boycott the Council by not electing anybody.

Please therefore inform us this matter officially, and send us copies of the proceedings and resolutions of Calcutta All-India Khilafat Conference held in September 1920. My best regards to Maulana Mohamed Ali.

Norbhing further to add with best wishes and regards,

Sd/. Mohemed Valiulla Badsha.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

No. 1202

Dated 15th October 1920.

Copy of a report No.2217/I.D., dated the 14th October 1920, from the Comissioner of Police, Madras, regarding the Khilafat Agitation

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The Madras Khilafat Committee has got printed at the Shahula Hamadia Press, 300 books with the enclosed declaration in Urdu for distribution in several districts of the Presidency for the purpose of taking the signatures of the Mussalman voters to the legislative Council. Signatures will be obtained at Madras by the "Muslim Volunteer Corps" and by some of the Volunteers of the "League of Youth" and in the mofussil by the local Khilafat Committees.

TRANSLATION.

GOD IS GREAT

1. Notice on behalf of the "Committee of Non-co-operation" for India which has among its members Mahatma Gandhi, Moulana Shaukat Ali, Moulana Abdul Kalam Azaad, Dr. Saifuddin Kichlew and Moulvi Muhammad Ali.

2. "I have not the least doubt that the strongest and the most effective method of Non-co-operation is the complete boycott of the Reformed Councils." M.K. Gandhi.

3. In view of the resolution of the Special Sessions of the National Congress, the All-India Muslim League and the Central Khilafat Committee, we being voters in the electoral District of ----------for election to the Reformed Councils hereby place on record our desire that we do not wish to be represented at the Provincial Legislative Council or Imperial Legislative Council and hereby inform all candidates for election that if they seek election in spite of our wish to the contrary, they will not represent us. We do not desire to be represented in the Reformed Council till Justice has been granted in the Matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab and Swaraj is established in India.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From theSpecial Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 16th October 1920.

Extracts from a report dated the 15th October 1920.

From an officer of this department regarding the Khilafat agitatio

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I respectfully submit that there was, I understand an informa secret meeting of the young men at the Khilafat Office on the 8th night, when Yakub Hasan addressed them on the present situation. He regretfully admitted that it appears to him that Non-co-operati was foredoomed to fail in our Province on account of lack of co-operation among the workers. He however, advised the young men to carry out the instructions of the Khilafat Committee in achieving success for the Work Committee and the Funds collecting Committee (the two main branches of the Khilafat Committee activities). In the event of the failure Non-co-operation, he said that it was decided that active resistance should be resorted to. He expresses hopes that the young Muslims would not lose courage then. He exhorted to keep before their eyes always the ideal of the Egyptian young men--"Free Egypt" who for the freedom of their land staked everything life, honour and property - and cheerfully suffered death penalty, imprisonment, etc. He hinted that a scheme on the lines of Sinn Fien methods is in the hands of Shaukat Ali and a trusted few, and would be put into practice at a psychological moment.

He further told his hearers that they should impress on the people that whenever a Policemen comes to them they should fearlessly slander the Government. He said that it would serve a great purpose. The leaders made all the representations to the Government to acquaint them with the popular feeling, but it has no effect. If venomous language is attacking the Government is used before a policeman, he will report on it, and thus the Government will come to know their feeling and do something to satisfy the people.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,
dated 16th October 1920.

Copy of a report No.2221-1/I.D., dated the 15th October 1920 from the Commissioner of Police, Madras regarding the Khilafat Agitation.

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Under the auspices of the Khilafat Committee, Madras, a mass meeting of the Mussalmans of Triplicane was held in the Triplicane Chowk at 5.30. p.m. yesterday (13/10/20) with Mr. Yakub Hasan in the Chair. ** ** **

Mr. Yakub Hasan in opening the proceedings said that the object of the meeting was to ask the voters not to vote for any body that wanted to seek election in the ensuing elections or to recognise anyman that ~~xhxx somewhat~~ somehow got into the Council as their representative. He said that the Councils as now constituted afforded very little scope for members to do any good work. As his own experience went, he said he could do ~~xkxk~~ nothing for the country for the four years he was in the council. He charactenised the English as thieves, robbers and Murderers. What was true of individuals, he said was true of nations. The nation that dishonestly took away others' money deserved to be treated no better than a thief. General Dyer Murdered several people in Jalianwalla in cold blood and the whole English nation supported his act. The nation that not only counteranced the deed of murder but also supported the murderer was, in his eyes, a nation of murderers. So it was impossible according to him to co-operate with a nation which had no morality.

* * *

Mr. Abdul Majid Sharar the editor of the "Qaumi Report" spoke for about an hour and a quarter. ** ** ** He criticised the speech of His Excellency made on the occasion of the closing of the proceedings of the last Legislative Council. He said that he was sceptic about the utility of boycotting the Councils but this speech has made him its advocate. ** ** ** ***

He added that a ø mistake was made by Mussalmans in giving English education to their youths and wanted that all Muslim girls should be withdrawn from the schools maintained by or aided by the Government. He impressed on the audience the necessity of educating their women on the question of Khilafat so that they may take active part in the movement and direct their husbands to work for the sake of the Khilafat. He said that thereference made by His Excellency to Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Shaukat Ali, two ak acknowledged leaders of the Indians, in terms of hatred were uncalled for. He criticised the remark of His Excellency that Indians wer disloyal and said that the Indians were loyal to a fault. He quoted a stanza to say that they were loyal though that loyalty was not reciprocated.

He concluded by saying that repressive action was being taken by the Government all over the country, that similar lot may befall leadeørs here including himself and that some persons should get themselves ready to take up the places vacated by the present leaders.

His speech was very effective and was heard with rapt attention. It was punctuated with shouts of "Alla-hu-Akbar".

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GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

Publiøc Department

Memorandum No.252-S

S E C R E T.

Dated Fort St. George, the 23rd October 1920.

Indian Penal Code - New Section 171-C.

The Hon'ble the Advocate General is requested to advise the Government how far the prosecution of the present movement to boycott the Councils amounts to an offence under section 171 C of the Indian Penal Code, as published in the Gazette of India, dated the 18th September 1920.

Tøhe proceødure adotpted at present appears to be for young men to canvas for signatures to a declaration in the following or some similar form:-

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"In view of the resolution of the Special Sessions of the National Congress, the All India~~xx~~ Muslim League and the Central Khilafat Committe, we being voters in the electoral district of..... ....for election to thereformed Councils hereby place on record our desire that we do not wish to be represented in the Provincial Legislative Council or the Imperial Legislative Council and hereby inform all candidates for election that if they seek election in spite of our wish to the contrary, they will not represent us We do not desire to be represented in the Reformed Councils till Justice has been granted in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab and Swaraj is established in India."

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 22nd October 1920.

Extract from a report dated the 22nd October 1920, from an officer of this department, regarding the Khilafat agitation.

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As a result of a private meeting on the night of the 21st between V.V.S.Ayyar, C. Rajagopalachari, Abdul Hameed Khan and Captains and Lieutenants of the Muslim Volunteer Corps, it is arranged that a Lieutenant and four volunteers should be detailed for for each Division to get the signatures of the voters in the Khilafat Committee declaration forms with the help of the other young men if necessary.

It was also arranged that after the boycott of Councils work was over, the withdrawal of children agitation should be taken up.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 25th October 1920.

Extracts from a report dated the 25th October 1920, from an officer of this department, regarding the Khilafat Agitation, is submitted.

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At the instance of the Central Khilafat Committee Workers, the local Khilafat Committee leaders contemplate taking the Volunteers in regular physical exercises, so that they may turn out a well disciplined force as suggested by Gandhi. They intend employing ex-military men for this work.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 26th October 1920.

Copy of a report dated the 25th October 1920, from an officer of this Department, regarding the Khilafat agitation, is submitted.

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I respectfully submit that as a sequel to the backdoor advice of Yakub Hasan and Abdul Majid Sharar, Amir Ali, Abdul Hai Mohajir and Saiyid Mohideen, a native of Kurnool(Students of the Government Azam College, Mount Road) privately informed their college students on Thursday the 21st instant to attend the College Mosque on the 22nd (Friday) to discuss certain important matters. Several college students gathered there accordingly. After the Jumma prayers (Frida Prayers) which were led by the above said Saiyid Mohideen of Kurnool, he, Amir Ali and Abdul Hai Mohajir spoke on the Non-co-operation, and exhorted their fellow students to follow the example of the M.A.O. COLLEGE, Aligarh. The majority of the students were not inclined to give up their studies, and said that their parents and guardians who were not consulted in the matter would not like their withdrawals because they spent much money on their education. But the above said three ringleaders said that in carrying out a religious obligation it is no sin to disobey their parents and guardians. The discussion however led to no decision.

Mr. Douglas, the Principal of the College, addressed and advised them not to be hasty, and appealed to their good sense. ** ** ** The ringleader Amir Ali said that as a religious duty they proposed to take up the step and some Moulvies (he named Moulana Abdul Bari and some others who signed the Fatwa whose copies I submitted) who have nothing to do with politics advised them to do so.

Saiyid Abdul Kadir, M.A.,L.T., Logic Professor (an associate of Chattopadhayaya) also advised the students in the class not to emulate the example of the Aligarh College students . This is only a ruse to hoodwink the Principal. He is an out and out Non-co-operationist.

This was reported to the local Khilafat leaders, who encouraged the ringleaders to carry on the agitation until they come to a decision after consultation with the Central Khilafat Workers, and held out hopes that Mohammed Ali and his party would be coming to Madras to guide the students on the subject of the Boycott of the Government and aided Colleges and introduce National education in place of the present one.

The Majority of the students have not yet made up their minds to take up this disastrous step, though the ringleaders are exerting hard at the instigation of Yakub Hasan, Abdul Majid Sharar C. Rajagopalachari and other Khilafat workers to induce the students to withdraw from the college. As things stand today, no one is prepared to come out of the College, except Amir Ali Even the two ringleaders, it appears, are not quite willing to practise what they preach to their fellow students. But in as much as they are subjected to the back-door influence of the Khilafat agitators, there is no knowing what turn the matter will eventually take. I am closely watching the movement.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,
No. 1242
Dated 27th October 1920.

Extract~~s~~ from the Special Branch Report of the District Superintendent of Police, Chittoor, for the week ending the 23rd October 1920, is submitted.** ** ** **

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A paper which requires watching is Gandhi's book of Volunteers. People who sign this must vow (i) to accept non-co-operation (ii) to do all they can to persuade others to sign.

Some local braggarts have even gone so far as threatening violence to anyone who goes to the polls. The Police will have to make it known that voters will be protected. I have spread a rumour that persons who interfere with voters will be run in. This may do some good. I have been asked time after time why Government allow these seditious persons to speak so openly. I have a very clear insight into local feeling and know that the Government's attitude of contempt is not at all appreciated. Even the most loyal people are questioning this attitude. They Ask "Why are Government afraid of Gandhi? Why is he not arrested?". It is hard to answer such questions or to give a reasonable excuse.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,
No. 1243
Dated 27th October 1920.

Extracts from the Special Branch Report of the District Superintendent of Police, Civil and Military Station, Bangalore, for the fortnight ending 23rd October 1920 is submitted.

Hajee Usman Sait has been distributing the following propaganda literature issued by the Khilafat Committee, Madras:-(i) a booklet entitled "Non-co-operation" (2) a booklet addressed to Government title-holders calling upon them to renounce their titles as the receipt of titles from the enemies of the faith is contrary to the dictates of the Koran, and (3) an extract from the "Quami

Report" of September 29th regarding the "History of the Mohorrum."

The regarding and explanation of the History of the Mohorrum has been going on daily in the Khuddusiya School under Moulvi Syed Mahamood Shakhadri. On the 15th instant Hajee Usman Sait specially attended and tried to persuade the Moulvi to explain every day at the close of the meeting the present situation of the Khilafat and the principles of Non-co-operation. The Moulvi refused to do so, but agreed to say something on the subject on the closing day. When the reading came to an end on the 20th the Sia Posh in bringing the meeting to a close referred briefly to the Khilafat question, stating that every attempt should be made to maintain the Khilafat as it existed before the war.

Hajee Usman continues to canvaass round for recruits for the National Schools. The students are being regaled with a tea party about once a week. On the 24th at a private meeting to which the public were not admitted, Gulam Ahmed Kalami addressed the students and impressed upon them that in the Koran Non-co-operation was resorted to when the Muhammadans had to fight against the Jews, and that now that the Khilafat had been shattered by the British Government they should all have recourse to the same weapon, which the only means by which the Government could be made to come to terms. Hajee Usman also addressed them and said that all boys now attending the Government schools should be persuaded to leave. At a tea party the same ~~strain)~~ Krishna Ayyar addressed them inthe same strain.

Gulam Mahomed, who was a Captain in the Muslim Volunteer Corps formed for the reception of Gändhi and Shaukat Ali, has resigned on the ground that he could not get any of his lieutenants to obey his orders. The reason for this is that the local Khilafat Committee ordered the volunteers to ascertain what Muhammadan boys were reading in the Government schools, and to go round persuading the parents to withdraw them. When this work was delegated to the lieutenants, they pleaded want of time, having their own affairs to attend to. When Gulam Mohamed was called to account, he blamed his lieutenants and so resigned. Two lieutenants have also sent in their

sent in their resignations, which are likely to be followed by others. The impression among them is growing that, if trouble arises from the fact of their being volunteers, no one is going to help them to get out of it.

I learn that a conference of Ulema is likely to be held in Bangalore at the end of December or the beginning of January next under the management of the local Khilafat Committee. About a fortnight ago Mahomed Yusuf Hussein wrote to the President, Central Khilafat Committee, enquiring whether resignation from the post of Municipal Commissioner is included in the Khilafat and Congress programme, in order that he might satisfy some of the Commissioners, who were wavering whether to resign or not.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 29th October 1920.

Extract from the Special Branch Report of the District Superintendent of Police, North Malabar, for the week ending the 23rd October 1920.

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P.Alippy. I am of opinion that his Islamiah Printing Press at Tellicherry should be boycotted by Government. *** He went to Calicut on 17/8 to meet Gandhi and since then he worked very keenly on behalf of the Khilafat movement. He prints very much of their literature. He is translating and will shortly publish a Khilafat book which A.K.Kunhi Mayan Haji brought from Calcutta - Called the "Fatwas of the Ulemas". ** ** ** He and Ebraim Kunhi are now running the Khilafat Committee in Tellicherry while V.C.Mayan is non-co-operating by preparing barracks for troops! I consider Alippy a dangerous man.

P.Alippy might be officialy informed that Government officers will no longer deal with his Press because of his insulting attitude to Government.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,
No. 1258
Dated 30th October 1920.

Copy of the Special Branch Report of the District Superintendent of Police, Anantapur, for the week ending 23rd October 1920, regarding the Khilafat agitation.

The case under 148 and 326 I.P.C. against Muhammadan Volunteers of Hindupur (vide Special Branch Report 25/9/20) was compromised out of court and could not be proceeded with. The President and Secretary of the Khilafat Committee came to the local Police Inspector, stated that they were fed up with the Khilafat agitation and said that they would have no more of it.

This is mere pretence as the Bombay C.I.D. has intercepted a message from Md.Hussein, Secretary Khilafat Committee, Hindupur, stating that complete unity has not been effected between Hindus and Muhammadans in Hindupur and suggesting that Abdul Quadir be allowed to remain on the Municipal Council and not resign, as he can do more good by not resigning.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,
No. 1251
Dated 28th October 1920.

Reference D.O.Letter No.250-Secret, dated the 23rd October 1920, regarding the "League of Youth".

A copy of a paragraph to appear in Abstract No.38, giving particulars of this League is submitted.

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See paragraph 695. **S.B., Madras, 25-10-20.** The following particulars of this organisation which came into existence in April last are published:-

The League of Youth (S.F.No.5).

I.

The rules and Objects.

The association shall be called the "League of Youth". Any person between the ages of 18 and 35 who subscribes in writing to the objects of the league shall be entitled to become a member. The objects of the league shall be to organise the youth of the country so as to enable them to find full and effective self-expression in all spheres of public life and generally to promote their interests. It shall be an All-India Organisation with its head-quarters at Madras. The league shall publish as its organ a weekly called the Youth. Every member shall be entitled to a copy of the journal. The subscription for membership the league is a minimum sum of Rs.6 per annum, payable where necessary in two half-yearly instalments. The subscription for the journal will be Rs.6 per annum. The management of the affairs of league shall be vested in an executive Committee which shall consist of a Secretary, a Treasurer, and five other members. These will be elected once a year at a general meeting of the members assembled at head-quarters. They shall hold office for one year, but if a vacancy arises in the course of the year by reason of resignation or otherwise the executive Committee shall have power to fill up the vacancy subject to confirmation by the league showing the expenditure of the preceding year and the estimate for the coming year.

Meetings.

There shall be a meeting of the league at the headquarters at least once in a month. The secretary shall give at least three days' notice of such meetings to the members. The quorum for a meeting shall be fifteen. The members present at the meeting shall choose a chairman from among themselves. Any member desirous of moving a resolution shall give at least one week's notice of his intention to do so to the Secretary. The Secretary shall on the

the written requisition of the fifteen members xxx call extra-ordinary meeting of the league.

Branches

On a written application signed by ten persons between the ages of 18 and 35 from any city, town or village a branch of the league may be started in that city, town or village. The application shall be accompanied by an affiliation fee of Re.1. The executive Committee shall sanction the starting of a branch subject to the same being confirmed at the next general body meeting of the league. The branches shall remit to the head-quarters Rs.5 per member per annum. The branches may frame rules not inconsistent with the rules of the league............

II.

The following programme was adopted in April last:-

1. POLITICAL. (1) Complete Indianisation of all public Services, Civil and Military. (2) Formation of territorial Army on a voluntary basis, a national navy and air force all manned by Indians.(3) Adult suffrage without distinction of sex and election by proportional representation, i.e., by the single transferable vote in plural member constituencies. (4) Abolition of the second chamber in the Indian Legislature during the period of transition towards Complete Responsible Government. (5) Recall of members of Legislation Legislative Councils by resolution of their constituents.(6) Repeal of Legislation unduly restricting the freedom of person, of speech, of association and of press. (7) Extension of the Habeas Corpus throughout the country, so as to secure that no person shall be punished for an offence except by a due sentence of law passed after open trial in the ordinary Courts of Law.

II. ECONOMIC:- (8) Complete fiscal autonomy. (9) Practice of Swadeshism. (10) Taxation of unearned increments. (11) Progressive income-tax. (12) Levy of succession and Inheritence taxes. (13) Abolition of permanent Settlement and the extension of the Raiyatwari system throughout the country.

III. SOCIAL.--(14) abolition of all titles of honour. (15) A civil Marriage Bill.(16) The right of entry to all classes professing a religion to temples, tanks and the holy places of that religion. (17) Refusal of State aid to institutions maintained for the sole benefit of particular sects or communities. (18) The extension to women of full rights to full citizenship including entry to the professions and the service of the State. (19) Abolition of polygamy. (20) Removal of limitations on Women's Estate.

IV.LABOUR:- (21) Social legislation providing for (a) 48 hours' week. (b) National insurance against illness, old age, accidents for labourers,(c) provision of recreation grounds, reading rooms, etc., for labourers.(d) Profit-sharing and a voice for labour in the management of Industry. (22) Extension of occupancy rights of the Estates Land Act to cultivators of raiyatwari lands.

V. POOR RELIEF:-(23) Abolition of begging and provision for poor relief. (24) Total prohibition of intoxicants, (25) Abolition of flogging.

VI.GENERAL:- (26) Free and compulsory elementary education. (27) Regulations of Public endowments. (28) Hindi propaganda.

III.

The league is stated to be an offshoot of the Nationalist Association. It has not been fully organised yet, but a provisional committee consisting of Messrs. S. Ramanathan, V.Raghavachari, K. Rajagopalan, G.V.Kuripanidhi, P. Govinda Menon, K.S.Venkataraman, N.S.Srinivasan, N.Sundaram, K.Santhanam, and K.S.Subrahmanyan is said to have been formed who issued the following pamphlet (ItemIV)

S. Ramanathan is the Provisional Secretary of the League which is located in No.80, Vellala Street, Purusawakam.

The league is said to contain now about 50 to 60 members. About ten of them with about 15 members of the Provincial Congress Committee met in Mahajana Sabha Hall on 26th August last and passed a resolution in favour of adopting "Non-co-operation."

IV.

The League of Youth.

All over the world to-day the spirit of freedom is abroad. The great war has been waged in the name of Liberty -- not the old liberty which left every man to his fate, but a "new Freedom" which by ending all forms of tyranny, seeks to secure to every man the opportunity and the means of a complete life." But already the world is drifting back into the old currents of selfish privilege and corruption. The old and hateful forms of domination tend to reappear in all their former severity. The call has come to every every man to assert and to secure the liberties for which he fought so long. To the youth of all nations the call has come to rouse itself from its lethargy and work strenuously and bravely against the paralysing influence of its surroundings.

Youth is the time of generous impulses and noble ideals; of dreams and passions; of a fresh and ardent enthusiasm for the beauty and tenderness of life. It is by directing these dreams and passions to the service of the motherland that the great deeds of history have been done. Youth calls for, and must find full expression. And how can it find better expression than in work that shall serve to enrich and glorify the national life? Youth has awakened to a vivid realisation of its powers and responsibilities, of its rights and obligations in society, it there fore strives to supply the driving force which spurs on to action instead of hesitation, and to work instead of mere deliberation.

But to-day in our country youth is groaning under the fetters created by age -- by affete tradition which regards seniority in years as the condition of knowledge and responsibility. The Soul of young India has been too long corrupted and enslaved by the cramping atmosphere of a sordid and malignant glorification of the virtues of years. Is it politics, the centre and essential condition of all sociation social life? - youth lacks experience and circumspection and must be subordinate to the decaying old. Is

Is it education? the cry is for the exp/eri/ented old - Sunk though they be in the depths of obsolete methods and traditions,the soulless abstraction of bygone days. In the professions the life and vigour of youth, its enthusiasms and its opportunities are sacrificed at the alter of the mischievous half-truth that age alone brings prefection. In short /in every walk of life, youth struggling for self expression is crushed beneath the oppressive and accumulated weight of mere age.

It is against this antiquated and unjust state of things that the young men of India are asked to rebel. Hence the need and justfication for a League of Youth: a co-operative movement among young men treading various paths in life. But the youth of India must set before itself not the negative and destructive object of hostility to age but the constructive ideal of fulfilling its capacities and aspirations. Its programme of work will be wide, for youth's sphere of activity is co-extensive with life itself. The league will be but the beginning of a reniassance in literature and art, a struggle for expressing the pure life before age hides it under a c/rust of dead habit. In the professions, the league will insist upon a proper understanding between the youthful beginner and the aged senior, and shall work for a relationship based on the principle of equal opportunities for all, uncontaminated by servility on the one hand and condescension on the other. In politics, the league will stand for the eternam principle of liberty, equality and fraternity interpreting them by the wisdom of its collective will. It will work on a thoroughly democratic basis and shall fight against re-actionary tendencies whever found. Absolute equality of the sexes, universal compu/lsory education, a more equitable adjustment of the relations between capital and labour, and radical social reform are some of the outsta/nding features of the programme which the league will seek to realise so far as lies within its power.

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V.

A meeting of the General Body was held on Monday, the 27th September, in the Khilafat Committee office, when certain members were appointed to work on in the city of Madras general electorates.

The following resolutions was also passed:-

That the Secretary be authorised to issue an appeal to young men of the Madras City to offer themselves as volunteersto get signatures for the boycott declaration.

VI.

The proposal of the students of the Aligarh College to adopt non-co-operation is appreciated by the League and the Secretary has telegraphed congratulating the students on their courageous stand for religion and country.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,
No. 1290
Dated 5th November 1920.

Copy of a report No.2373/I.D., dated the 4th November 1920 from the Commissioner of Police, Madras, regarding the League of Youth.

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The shorthand reporter who went to attend the general body meeting of the League on Wednessday the 3rd November at 3 p.m. at No.8, Broadway, was informed by Mr. C.Rajagopalachari that there was no meeting of the League that day.

Seven members of the League including Messrs. K.V.Kirupanidhi S.Ramanathan, Varadachari, Rajagopalan, K. S.Venkataraman and Santhanam were noticed seated round a table engaged in an informal talk. It is learnt that they passed resolutions, (1) expressing grief at the death of Terence Mac Sweney, the Lord Mayor of Cork and conveying sympathy to the Irish people in their present struggle for freedom, (2) congratulating Mr.Zafar Ali Khan, the editor of the "Zamindar" and other Khilafat workers on their courageous stand for their religion and country,(3) authorising the

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Secretary Mr. Ramanathan to convene a meeting of the students of Madras as early as possible to consider the question of their withdrawal from Government and aided institutions and (4) requesting the Secretary Mr. Ramanathan and Mr. K.S.Venkataraman to make arrangements for the starting of a City Volunteer Corps.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

No 1298

Dated 8th November 1920.

Extracts from a special report dated the 3rd November 1920, from the District Superintendent of Police, North Malabar, are submitted for information.

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2. Pomanichi Mammad Kunhi, a Municipal Councillar of Cannanore, declined recently to sign the Boycott Form. On this, Adam Abdurahim Sait, went to him and asked him what he meant. They had a regular set-to. Paraurath Mohammad Kunhi is actively assisting Adam in this sort of brow-beating.

3. Mappillas are rather exercised in their minds, because Mohammad Ali has been speaking in favour of Home Rule, and saying that that is their first aim, and that then they will be able to effect the objects of the Khilafat Committee, and if need be go to war on behalf of Islam. The Mappillas have only recently heard about this, and don't quite like the idea. They do not want Home Rule because they fear the Hindus, and yet are illogical enough to try and make Government by British whom they do not really want to evict, impossible. The leading Khilafat workers view this suggestion with misgiving, despite the ultimate bait held out to them. Still, they are foolish enough to refuse to face these facts boldly; and yet they feel uneasy about them. My idea is that we have a large following of loyal Mappillas, that others are in favour of Non-co-operation and yet are not satisfied that they are not being used as tools of the Hindus and Home Rule League, and that a few fanatical enough to side with any party which opposes a Christian Government. It is a very difficult

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to follow their reasoning, as it is hopelessly illogical, and very variable. There is a certain amount of satisfaction over the independence of Egypt.

5. I enclose a pamphlet which contains a letter from Kunhamad Koya (Legislative Council Candidate and now elected) to Kani-Kinakool Kader Kutti of Trikkur and the latter's reply thereto. This Kader Kutti is joining Kunhi Mayan Haji and V.C.Mayan in their seditious work. I am asking District Magistrate's permission to run a case under the Press and Registration of Books Act in this connection. He lives at Trikkur, up country, and will probably become the centre of the Khilafat agitation in those parts. He has not come into prominence before except several years ago in a case of assaulting the Police.

6. I am very anxious to put a stop to this insidious and seditious propaganda, and think that it will not be long before I will recommend a prosecution under Section 124/A, I.P.C., or 108/(a) CR.P.C.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

No. 1302

Dated 8th November 1920.

Copy of a report No.2414/I.D., dated the 6th November 1920, from the Commissioner of Police, Madras, regarding the Khilafat agitation is submitted.

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The candidates standing for the Madras Muhammadan constituency have already been declared elected without having recourse to election. Of the two candidates Messrs Asad Ali Khan and Sadulla Badsha Sahib standing for the Legislative Assembly, the latter having withdrawn, the former has been declared elected and that of the two candidates Messrs Asad Ali Khan and Khan Sahib Usman Sahib standing for the Madras Legislative Council, the former had withdrawn and the latter has been declaring declared elected.

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The Khilafat Committee has done nothing so far to influence these men to resign the seats. The "Qaumi Report" however has been decrying their acts and calls on the Mussalmans not to recognise them as their leaders.

Two Mussalman students of Madras have withdrawn from the Government College - one Abdur Rahim from the Madras Presidency College and the other Mohiuddin from the Madrasa-i-Azam College. It is learnt that this contagion is not likely to spread and cause the ruin of the Mussalman youths. Mussalman feeling at Madras is strongly against the boycott of schools.

Translation of the handbill referred to in the above report.

ALLA-HO-AKBAR (God is Great)

COUPLET: The restlessness of the victim was worth seeing in the night. What matters it if one turns up in the morning.

This is the time for Islamic and national Service. Do not allow this opportunity to slip from off your hands. The least service that you can do is to refrain from voting at the ensuing elections. Remember that indifference at this time will throw a new chain of slavery round your neck, the delivery from which will be impossible for a long time to come. Has not the monstrous atrocities committed on the Punjab left an impression on your conscience? Has the long servitude so worked on your conscience and intelligence as not to make you feel for the injustice done to the islamic khilafa and for the deception practised on the Mussalmans of India? If you feel in the least it behoves you to cease to cooperate with the Government and that is to be accomplished by not giving vote for the council elections.

Madras Presidency Khilafat Committee.

Printed at Shahul Hamidia Press.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,
No. 1209
dated 10th November 1920.

Extract from a latter dated the 6th November 1920, from the District Superintendent of Police, South Malabar, is submitted for information.

Meetings in connection with the Khilafat movement are being held every few days throughout this District. At the last few meetings there have been some rather violent speeches and the controversy is likely to break up the Himayathal-ul-Islam Sabha, the decent Mappillas who count object to their Sabha being used for political purposes it being against the rules. Muthu Koya Thangal of Calicut, the normal nominal leader of the local Mappilla is a weak man and tries to keep in with both parties, he is rapidly being forced into the hands of the Khilafat Committe. His Son is a bad lot and takes a leading part in most meetings.

Labour Unions are also springing up. They are due to Manjeri Rama Ayyar a perfectly sound man with good motives and he is supported by Mr. M. Ramakrishna Ayyar, lecturer in the Christian College, who is not sound. Rama Ayyar has told the coolies that he cannot run their Union for want of time and Ramakrishna Ayyar cannot by reason of his position in the Christian College, and they have put up U.Gopala Menon, an unscrupulous fool who may do considerable harm.

U.Gopala Menon is a failure as a vakil and was the leader in the anti-Police case (Town-Hall Rioting) earlier the year.

I think the time has come to stop some of the speeches at Khilafat meetings and am consulting the District Magistrate on this, also on some notices of meetings which have been printed without the name of the Press.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 11th November 1920.

Extract from a report R.No.325, dated the 7th November 1920, from an officer of this Department, regarding the "League of Youth".

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Secret meetings are held in the Khilafat Office under the auspices of "League of Youth". Men are kept specially to watch the meetings at No.8, Broadway, Madras. Nobody is allowed to attend these meetings. My informant who went there to overhear the proceedings of the meeting was tackled with all sorts of questions and driven away. This man was dogged by a spy as far as the Law College. The informant was able to identify in the Meeting only C. Rajagopalachariar and Varadachari among ten persons or so.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch,Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 11th November 1920.

Extract from a speech delivered by Dr.Varadarajulu Nayudu at Bhawani on the 31st October 1920, is submitted.

About the visit of the Duke of Connaught. It is a foolish act on the part of the Government. It would have been gracefulif they had said that the Prince of Wales was not sent to India as the people were against his visit. They have uttered a lie saying that the Prince of Wales is sick. Now the Duke of Connaught is coming. We are going to repeat the same story. We won't open our shops. We wont give him a welcome. We will hoist black flags. We warn those that if they do not act up to our wishes, the great man will not be respected.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,
No. 1322
Dated 12th November 1920.

Extracts from a speech delivered by P.Varadarajulu Nayudu at Tuticorin on the 10th October 1920, are submitted for information.

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The poor are going to rule hereafter. ** ** ** ** ** **

It is certain that the English Government will be come the Labour Government. * * * * *

Without any distinction of poor and rich you yourselves should assume sovereignty.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,
No. 1323
Dated 12th November 1920.

Extract from a speech delivered by C.Rajagopalachariar at a meeting held near the Jam Bazaar, Triplicane, on the 20th October 1920 is submitted.

If 30 crores of people do not stir out on that day (of election) all will understand that Gandhi is their King. Then we ~~xy~~ may understand that we are masters of India.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,
No. 1324
Dated 12th November 1920.

Copy of a report dated the 12th November 1920, from an officer of this Department, regarding the Khilafat agitation.

The Hon'ble Mr. Main Mohammed Shafi.

The Hon'ble Member is a guest of Justice Abdur Rahim with whom he is staying. It is generally understood that he has come to Madras to dissuade people from the boycott of Government and Government Aided Schools by public speeches and private interviews. He intends visiting the Madrasa-i-Azam (Government Muhammadan College)

in a day or two. In this connection, Abdul Majid Sharar (Editor of Qaumi Report), Mohammed Valiulla Badsha Sahib, of Messrs Badshah and Co., Hajee Abdul Rahim, Merchant, Godown Street, Mohamed Nathan Sahib and a few others are working to induce the students to absent themselves from their class in a body on that particular day. It is said that several of the day scholars have been won over and are likely to to do so. The boarders (members of the College Hostel have not yet quite made up their minds are still wavering.

One Ameer Ali and Abdul Hye Mahajir, students of the Intermediate Class in the College have taken a leading part in this affair. The former is a Captain in the Muslim Volunteer Corps and treasurer of the Volunteer Club and the latter an ex-Captain of the same corps. These two young men are reputed to be the most prominent leaders among Muhammadan young men and students and to take the lead in all movements of the Kind at present.

A timely warning by the College authorities may be of good effect.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 12th November, 1920.

Extract from a report dated the 8th November 1920, from an officer of this Department, regarding the Khilafat agitation.

The youthful members of the Muslim Society, Vaniyambadi, have threatened Khan Bahadur Haji Badruddin Sahib, Secretary of the Viniyambadi Islamia School, to renounce his title by the 20th instant on the pain of forcible removal from his office in the Society. He has not replied them as yet. Great pressure from many quarters is brought to bear on him.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

No. 1328

Dated 12th November 1920.

Copy of a report No.2427/I.D.? dated the 8th November 1920, from the Commissioner of Police, Madras, regarding the Khilafat agitation.

A public meeting of the Mussalman citizens of Madras was held under the auspices of the Madras Khilafat Committee on the beach opposite to the Presidency College at 6 p.m. on 7/11/20. About 250 persons were present mostly Mussalmans. Moulvi Fazlulla Sahib occupied the chair. Two resolutions were passed. The first was about the disapproval of the conduct of the Trustees of the Aligarh College in refusing to abide by the mandate of Gandhi and Ali brothers and the second was to request the authorities of the Nadwat-ul-Ulema not to receive my grant-in-aid towards the maintenance of DarulUlum.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

No. 1344

Dated 16th November 1920.

Extract from report No.9, the 15th November 1920, from an officer of this Department, regarding the Khilafat agitation.

With regard to the approaching elections on the 30th instant for the Madras Legislative Council, there is a rumour in some parts of the city that those who go to the polling stations for giving their votes will be beaten or otherwise molested by some rowdies of Madras kept ready for the purpose by some mischief makers at or near those polling stations. It is further said that Criminal Law will be suspended by Government on the day of election just as it is done at Pondicherry during the elections there.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 17th November 1920.

Extracts from a speech delivered by Abdul Majid Sharar at a Khilafat meeting held on the 7th November 1920 at Cocanada, are submitted.

The Government did not fulfil any of the promises which they have promised before war. Lloyd George has misrepresented the Indian affairs falsely and he thus succeeded Mr. Asquith. Lord Hardinge who was the Viceroy of India and who is now taking pension out of India's money which is our property, is a "Nammack Haran" (Traitor) and he does not care for our welfare.

We must teach our sons that they must work for the nation and I do not say that they should not use any arms.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 22nd November 1920.

Copy of a report No.2517/I.D., dated the 20th November 1920 from the Commissioner of Police, Madras regarding the Khilafat agitation, is submitted.

It is also, rumoured that Mr. C.Rajagopalachari sent a wire to Mr. Gandhi asking him to go over to Madras with Mr. Muhammad Ali just before the ensuing elections and that Mr. Gandhi replied that he would not help Madras if Madras could not help itself.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 22nd November 1920.

Extract from the Special Branch report of the District Superintendent of Police, Kistna, for the week ending 13th November 1920, is submitted for information.

Bezwada Circle. The Director of Public Instruction visited the C.M.S. and Hindu High Schools at Bezwada on 8/11/20. Only about 100 boys attended each of the schools. Crowds of boys collected in the streets and when moved off by the Police they gathered in groups on the pails and shouted "Hindu-Mussalmani-ki-jai" as the Director's car passed. A number of boys remained away at home for fear they would be molested.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 25th November 1920.

Copy of the Special Branch report of the District Superintendent of Police, South Kanara, for the week ending the 20th November 1920, is submitted for information.

During the last fortnight Non-co-operation has made great strides in Mangalore and the District generally as far as elections and nominations to the new Councils are concerned. There was originally two candidates for the Muhammadan seats, Mr. Puttur Sahib and M.Schamaad. The former a rank non-co-operator with drew and Mr. M.Schamned was returned unopposed for both Imperial and the Madras Councils. As he could only hold one appointment the election for the Madras Council was declared void. The Muhammadanshave now put up a man called Abdul Kasim, an illiterate cooly driver from the Bundar, an ex-suspect of Manjeshwar station and an ex-convict who has been to prison, having been convicted under sectic 332 to one month's rigorous imprisonment about 12 years ago. I hear he was convicted under section 379 and fined, but I have not yet traced the conviction. All Muhammadan voters are being induced not to vote and if they do they are called "Khilafirs". Mr. Puttur Sahib is trying "to hunt with the hounds and run with the hare". He is an Honorary Bench Magistrate but although a rank non-co-operator, is attending the bench. He is responsible for the whole non-co-operation work here. Certainly 95% of the students in the various colleges are in sympathy with non-co-

operation, not because they understand the movement but because they see that Government can be defied with impunity. A few instances though of no im ortance in themselves, show which way the wind is blowing. The Government College was putting in for team for the annual Cricket Tournament. The Principal Mr. Savur did not approve of certain players so excluded themfrom the team whereupon the rest refused to play. The College put in no team. During the recent Police Hockey Tournament the Head Masters of the Kanara High School and Government College entered teams. As the tournament was considered a semi-Government affair, the teams refused to play. The annual Athletic sports were held on the maidan which is under municipal Control by the Municipal authorities. When the Secretary was trying to clear the course, some school boys refused to move saying that nobody has any authority to remove them. These are small matters that all show that the recent leactures given by Messrs. Gandhi and his crowd are gradually having effect and will continue so unless checked. People are continually coming to me and complaining about the inaction of Government about Gandhi and the Ali Brothers. Mr. Karnad Sadasiva Rao's touring the District inducing people not to vote, has been very successful from the non-co-operation point of view. He has had practically a clear field as no anti-non-co-operators have been to this District, Except to Mangalore. The Hon'ble Mr. V.S.S.Sastri did come to Mangalore and lectured against non-co-operation. Practically no previous intimidation intimation was received of his arrival and consequently he was not given a chance of getting at the people and telling them his views. His lecture was attended by students sympathising with non-co-operation whose sole intention was to heckle the lecturer in which they were ably led by a teacher from the St.Aloysius College called Venkatarama Iyer. I have talked to the Rector of the College and told him that this teacher is doing, but he says that he has no authority over the teacher outside College hours, and besides he does not see how he can interfere with a man who merely supports and sympathises with a movement when Government themselves do not interfere with the very "fons et origo" of that movement. He however intends giving the teacher some friendly advice.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch,Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 26th November 1920.

Copy of a report dated the 25th November 1920, from an officer of this department, regarding the Situation in the Islamiah School, Vaniyambadi, is submitted for information.

I respectfully submit that since the recent fanatical activities of Abdul Majid Sharar at Vaniyambadi, the situation in the Islamiah School there has assumed a serious turn. It is learnt that the boys have decided in their Non-co-operation Committee formed under the guidance of Sharar to leave the school if the Government control is not refused, and the majority of the Trustees and the Executive Members and the supporters have been won over to the side of Non-co-operation. When Khan Bahadur Haji Badruddin, Secretary of the school, was pressed to move in the matter, he is reported to have told some of his friends in confidence that through Khan Bhahadur Bazlullah Sahib, O.B.E., Chief Presidency Magistrate, arran arrangements have been made to get from Government about Rs.30,000/- for the College Scheme, and after securing it he would remove the institution from the Government Control, and renounce his title. This was characterised by Sharar in his speeches as a hyprocritical dealing and he exhorted the people not to countenance any such transaction and boycott first those who are carrying it on. This, I understand, exasperated the youths and others who openly called the Secretary a "Kafir". It is seriously proposed that if the Government grant which is said to be Rs.5,500/- is not refused, the other incomes, monthly subscriptions marriage contributions, school fees, miscellaneous collections, etc. amounting to about Rs.13,000/- will be stopped.The Secretary is called upon in a meeting held on the 23rd instant to convene a meeting within a week to consider the question of the refusal of the Government aid.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 26th November 1920.

Copy of a report dated the 26th November 1920, from an officer of this Department, regarding the Khilafat agitation is submitted for information.

I respectfully submit that the local Khilafat workers propose to post a Khilafat and Non-co-operation worker with some volunteers at every public polling booth in Madras on the 30th instant to seduce the voters not to vote for candidates.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department,

Dated 29th November 1920.

Extracts from a report No.11, dated the 29th November 1920, from an officer of this department regarding the Khilafat agitation.

There is an idea prevalent in some quarters that the Government made a tactical blunder in passing the Corrupt practices Bill concerning the elections and that otherwise the candidates would have brought a good number of voters in hired cars to the polling stations. Generally, owing to laziness or indifference, if not owing to ignorance of the value of franchise and the rights of citizenship, people are likely to keep at home rather than take the trouble of going to the polling stations. The fact, that only a few went and voted, though it may be due to so many contributory causes, is likely to be misconstrued as a success to the Non-co-operation movement and might give an impetus to the same. Some peo people think that owing to the passing of this Act the Government are contributing to the success of the movement though unintentionally.

Some of the candidates, are, therefore, arranging to send hired carriages to the voters tomorrow, stealthily making it believe that the carriages belonged to the friends and sympathisers

of the candidates. Thus it is expected that a large number of people will be taken to the polling booths.

It is further believed that the Government would overlook this transgress of Law at least in this election, in their own interest.

Copy of D.O. dated the 25-10-1920 from Mr.W.C.Douglas, Principal Muhammadan College, Madras.

I learnt on Saturday morning that the students of this College, or rather, some of them, had held a meeting in the mosque on Friday to discuss the question of leaving the college in imitation of the Aligarh students. Only one student opposed the suggestion seven were ready to quit at once, the rest said they must consult their parents.

I spoke to the classes on Saturday; and one, Nuhajir, whom I know to be a leader of the students spoke up and said that, since the meeting, wiser cousens had prevailed and that the students did not intend to leave the college. Another student, Amir Ali, rather dissociated himself from this statement and indicated that he might be obliged to leave. Gandhi and the Ali brothers are coming to Madras soon, and the students are just waiting to see what these agitators say.

I believe that Nuhajir's statement was quite unauthorised and was a temporary device to 'pacify' me, as one student put it. I believe that the students are quite likely to be carried in a body out of the college on the wave of excitement which the visit of the agitators will raise. I believe that a considerable number of students may be forced to leave against their will. This is particularly so of the Shia students--three in number. Two of them have spoken to me and they say that their life will be rendered intolerable if they do not quit the college with the rest. They believe that the Sunnies will leave. I am told that the Khilafat Committee are addressing the parents. So far the school is not involved, and it is impossible to predict the schoolboys will do. I think everything will depend upon the parents. The Aligarh schoolboys havenot

yet followed the lead of the students, but if they do so it will complicate matters here. I do not think anything can be done, and I believe matters should be allowed to take their own course. Both the students and school-boys are civil and well-behaved and the atmosphere is quite clear.

Of course, the crisis may pass off satisfactorily, but I think it is necessary to acquaint you with the position and the possibilities. I will let you know any new developments as they arise.

HISTORY OF NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Secret Files No.315, dated 2-4-1921 - Non-co-operation - General policy - Notes on correspondence with Government of India - Gandhi's proposed visit to Madras - Serial Number 12 132).

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CONFIDENTIAL.

D.-O. No.4147 (Political)
Simla, the 4th September '20

Dear Graham,

In view of developments which may occur in the general political situation of the non-co-operation campaign after the special session of the Congress at Calcutta in the first week of September, the Government of India desire to explain to local Governments what their general attitude towards that movement is and what action they consider should be taken by local Governments in certain contingencies.

2. The general policy of Government in the matter has already been expounded by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speech at the opening of the current session of the Imperial Legislature Legislative Council. The non-co-operation scheme is so intrinsically foolish that Government have every confidence that the common sense of India will reject it. It has been before the public now for two or three months and has been in operation for nearly a month, but although it has received a certain amount of nominal support in extr extremist circles and has been endorsed in principle by various Provincial Congress Committees which are dominated by extremists, it has attracted only a handful of practical exponents even in its firs stage which calls for least personal sacrifice. To all outward appearance it is doomed to failure and it seems unlikely that there will be any turning of the popular tide in its favour, unless some unexpected development occurs.

3. The Government of India accordingly consider that for the time being the policy of non-interference is the wisest policy. They think that it would be a mistake at the present juncture either to

to adopt repressive measures of an executive nature under special or emergency laws against the leaders of the movement, or even to institute immediate proceedings against them under the ordinary Criminal law, because any such action would only result in making martyrs of them and gaining for their cause large numbers of adherents who would otherwise hold aloof. The leaders themselves have invited prosecution and thereby supplied evidence that they consider the movement requires the stimulus of prosecution or repression to keep it alive and give it any chance of success.

4. Apart from these general considerations of policy, the Government of India have been influenced by the fact that in the opinion of their legal advisers, the Advocate General and the Standing Counsel, a prosecution of Messrs. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali under the ordinary criminal law would have little chance of being followed by conviction until the later stages of the programme, i.e., the withdrawal of co-operation from the army and police services and the refusal to pay taxes, had been brought into operation. The Government of India do not wholly accept this opinion and would be prepared to take the risk of prosecution if developments anterior to these later stages rendered this step expedient. They also recognise that at any moment there may be developments which would completely change the bearing of the data on which their legal advisers were consulted. They have accordingly requested the Government of Bombay to be ready to initiate a prosecution of the leaders if and when the proper psychological moment arrives, and they have suggested that in that event it would probably be most advantageous to prosecute in one batch the Executive Sub-Committee which was appointed by the Central Khilafat Committee to organise the detailed carrying out of the non-co-operation scheme. This included Mr. Gandhi, Abdul Kalam Azad, Mohamad Ali, Ahmad Haji Siddik Khatri Shaukat Ali, Kitchlew and HasratMohani. The time when if at all, this prosecution will be launched will be settled by the Government of Bombay in consultation with the Government of India and will be communicated to other local Governments. Meanwhile, the Government of India and will be communicated to other local Governments.

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Meanwhile the Government of India will be glad if all local Governments will forward to the Government of Bombay copies of reports of speeches made or writings published within their jurisdiction by members of the said Executive Sub-ØCommittee in order that the Government of Bombay may be able to complete the case and consider well in advance the bearing of all such materials on the projected prosecution.

5. The Government of India consider it essential as a corollary to, and complement of, their general policy in relation to the non-co-operation movement, that vigorous action should be taken in the shape of prosecution against all those who by speech or writing incite the public the to violence or attempt by seditious propaganda to seduce the loyalty of Indian troops or the police. Local Governments have already been urged to adopt this course in demi-official circular letter No.2795, dated the 3rd July 1920 but the Government of India regret to observe that although police abstracts and secret reports abound with illustrations of violently seditious speech and writing, very few prosecutions have apparently been instituted seditious speech and writing, very few prosecutions have apparently been instituted up to date. From their their comments on these reports District Officers seem to think that because no action has been taken against the leaders of the non-co-operation movement, persons guilty of the most violent sedition should go untouched however inflammatory their language and however malicious and mischievous the lying reports they spread to the discredit of Government. The Government of India consider that this is a mistaken attitude. Great herm is done by letting these firebands goø free. It is they who make the most violent impression on the minds of the ignorant masses and to ignore them can only create a feeling that they are free to defy the Sirkar with impunityy. The recent deplorable murder of the Deputy Commissioner of Kheri in the United Provinces at the hands of misguided fanatics has emphasized the necessity for vigorous action in this direction.

6. I am to add that if any member of the Executive Sub-Committee is guilty individually of action which renders his immediate prosecution desirable the fact that he is a member of the said Sub-Committee should not be allowed to stand in the way of any prosecution, but the Government of India would be glad to be informed in advance of any proposed proceedings. In view of the altered circumstances, the fact that the Turkish peace treaty has now been signed and the clear indications that the incessant preaching of violence and sedition is producing very injurious results in some parts of India, the Government of India desire to make it clear that association with Mr. Gandhi the apostle of non-violence, will not confer immunity from prosecution on even the most prominent of his co-workers if they break the law by making speeches of a violent character,. The utterances of men like Shaukat Ali, Abdul Kalam Azad and others are such that they cannot , without danger to the peace of the country, be allowed to pass unnoticed, and if evidence is available prosecutions against these persons should be launched without hesitation. The Government of India recognize that Local Governments may be unwilling to undertake such prosecutions on their own initiative and that they would prefer in this matter to act under the instructions and with the approval of the Central Government, as any action taken may have its reaction on the rest of India. The business of prosecution and the direct work of investigation collection of evidence and production of witnesses, can, however, be done only by the local Government, and the Government of India, while they are fully prepared toaccept the responsibility for the initiation of action, trust that they, will receive every assistance from loal Governments in the actual conduct of the proceedings. Their policy is clear: they seek to prosecute any individual who by violence of language directly provokes or incites to disorder, and they hope that vigorous action will be taken to give effect to this policy. They believe that a few successful prosecutions will have a very beneficial effect both in rallying moderate opinion and in discouraging those who think

that they can break the law with impunity because they are ranged under the banner of Mr. Gandhi.

7. I am lastly to state that the Government of India are prepared to extend to any area where this may be deemed advisable the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act, not except in cases of urgent necessity, with the object of preventing the holding of public meetings, but in order to give the local officers power to control and regulate such meetings and to ensure that speeches will be made under conditions which will render it possible to obtain accurate reports. They trust that no expense will be spared to secure trustworthy reports of meetings and that every care will be taken to watch the movements and plans of prominent sedition-mongers.

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GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

S E C R E T.

D.O.No.231-S.

Stonehouse Hill,

14th September 1920.

Dear

Khilafat Agitation.

Continuation of my D.O. No.221-S., dated 30th August 1920 I am to say that in view of recent developments of the Non-co-operatón movement the Government of India have again circular-ised Local Governments with regard to the measures to be taken to deal with the agitation in its present stages.

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2. In the circumstances the Government of India have stated the policy that they desire to be followed in these words:- Their policy is clear: they seek to prosecute any individual who by violence of language provokes or incites to disorder and they hope that vigorous action will be taken to give effect to this policy. They believe that a few successful prosecutions will have a very beneficial affect both in rallying moderate opinion and in discouraging those who think that they can break the law with impunity because they are ranged under the banner of Mr.Gandhi

3. The Government of Madras have no reason to think that they or the district offices under them have let slip any recent opportunity of prosecuting with success any agitator who has by his words or speeches transgressed the law. They would remind district officers that it is not desirable to launche prosecutions unless there is good reason to suppose that they will be success-full and that for this reason it is generally necessary to obtain the opinion of the Government's legal advisers that the subject matter of the prosecution is sufficient for the purpose. But they wish to emphasise once more the necessity for all officers to be on their guard against seditious speaking and writing in their districts. It is also very important that anything of this nature should be reported to the Government with the greatest prompti-tude.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

D.O. No.156.
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
(Home Department).
(Political).
Delhi, the 28th/30th January 1921.

Dear Knapp

In continuation of McPherson's demi-official letter of the 4th September, I am directed to address the local Government on the subject of the non-co-operation movement and the attitude of Government towards that movement.

2. The policy which the Government of India have so far pursued in regard to the non-co-operation movement has been that of non-interference. They have avoided wherever possible the adoption of repressive measures under special and emergency legislation and they have refrained from prosecuting the leaders of the movement. They have taken the view that this movement, if left to itsel itself, will eventually collapse; that repression would merely give the stimulus which persecution so often supplies; that a direct attack on the leaders, and in particular on Gandhi, would probably precipitate violent outbreaks with the inevitable aftermath of bitterness and racial hatred; and that any extensive interference with the freedom of speech and liberty of the Press is inconsistent with, and would be likely to prejudice, the working of the new constitution. At the same time the limits to the policy of non-interference have been clearly indicated. The Government of India have directed that vigorous action should be taken in the shape of prosecutions under the ordinary law against all those who by speech or writing incite the public to violence, or attempt by seditious propaganda to seduce the loyalty of the Indian troops or police; they have urged on local Governments the need for instituting such prosecutions more freely; and they have specifically laid down that association with Gandhi should

not be regarded as conferring immunity on even the most prominent of his co-workers, if they infringe the law my making violent speeches. Nevertheless they have recognised that at any moment events may occur which will necessitate the abandonment or modification of this policy and the adoption of other sterner, and more comprehensive measures; and they have therefore given anxious consideration to the question whether the recent proceedings at Nagpur point to developments that will render it impossible any longer to maintain the attitude which they hitherto have taken up towards the non-co-operation movement.

3. The success so far attained by the non-co-operators in the execution of those items of their programme, towards which their efforts have ostensibly been directed, has not on the whole been very great. Very few titles have been surrendered. Only a handful of lawyers have suspended practice; and whilst the non-co-operators were able in some places to reduce the number of votes polled or to secure the return of a few undesirable candidates, they were unable to interfere seriously with the elections and the constitution of the nww Councils. The attack on educatio-educational institutions have provoked strong opposition, and in spite of the renewed activity, which has been displayed since the Congress in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab and Bombay, it does not seem probable at present that in this direction the results attained will be very serious. The proceedings of the Nagpur Congress, however, and all the other evidence available show clearly that the non-co-operation campaign so far from having been abandoned, is likely to be prosecuted during the coming months with increased energy. The personal domination at the Congress of Gandhi, who is committed to this policy and has promised swaraj within the definite period, the significant alteration in the creed of the Congress which was carried dispite the opposition of the more moderate elements, and the presence in the ranks for propaganda work of the most reckless and unscrupulous character, are facts which point unmistakably not to any slackening but to the intensification of past activities.

4. It is probable that the campaign will now in the main be directed towards other and more promising objectives. The points previously selected for attack were those in which the interests of the people manifestly (elected) coincided with those of the Government, and it may reasonably be assumed that the lesson of the last year has not been lost on the leaders, and that their aim henceforth will be to enlist in the movement all those elements of the population which have real or imagined grievances and are thus predisposed to lend a ready ear to the promises and incitements of the agitators. From this point of view the agricultural tenants and the large industrial centres furnish the most promising field for the propaganda of the non-co-operators and recent events provide unmistakable evidence that they are alive to the possibilities in these directions. In Oudh the propaganda of their agents has already succeeded in provoking serious and widespread disturbances; innumerable agitators are reported to have been at work amongst the large villagesin the Central Provinces; and there are other provinces, as yet not fully in exploited, in which, in view of the strained relations between the tenants and the landlords, it would not be difficult for the non-co-operators to organise agrarian emeutes.

There is reason to apprehend also that the non-co-operators intend to capture the labour organisations and to utilise them as an instrument for bringing about when the time is judged to be favourable, something in the nature of a general strike. The Congress has now established a labour organisation committee and has appointed as one of its members Lajapat Rai, the President of the All India Trades Union Congress; and the Indian National Seamen's Union has been affiliated with the Bengal Provincial Congress, (and the Indian The speech, too, recently delivered to the Postal peons Union at Calcutta by Jawahir Lal Nehru in which he dwelt on the possibility of using the union against the Government is significant. So far this side of the campaign has lacked direction and co-ordination; but it would be a mistake

to assume that these will continue to be lacking or to under-estimate the chances of any signal success and the dangers that this would involve. A prolonged strike in the coal-fields combined with an extensive strike of the Indian employes on the railways would go far to paralyse the economic organisation of the country; whilst if the agitators should succeed in provoking simultaneously with these developments agrarian disturbances over a large area, the Government would be confronted with a position of extraordinary difficulty and danger. There is also an increasing possibility of the extremist party being able to spread dis~~s~~affection among Indian troops and the police and materially to impede rec~~x~~ruiting. It is clear from the report of the recorded meeting of the Congress that this has not been overlooked and individual instances of the dange- of the dangerous effect of this campaign have come to the notice of Government.

5. The Government of India have considered whether, in view of these potential developments any radical change in the policy hitherto pursued is necessary. On the information at present available they do not think that this conclusion would be justified. The only alternative to the existing policy would be repression on a wholesale scale, the arrest and trial of the leaders, the application of the Seditious Meetings Act throughout India, and the muzzling of the whole of the extremist press. The Government of India, ~~and the~~ do not think that a stage has been reached or that they would be justified in assuming that a stage will eventually be reached at which these measures are or will be essential. If they were to be adopted at the present time, the probable results would be outbreaks in numerous places, considerable bloodshed, the intensification of the racial bitterness which the events of 1919 have done so much to accentuate, the paralysis of the moderates, and in general the creation of conditions in which the new constitution would have little or no chance of success; and the Government of India are not prepared, until the necessity for them has

has been demonstrated, to adopt such steps that would have these consequences, and that, in addition, would yield no lasting remedy. The Government of India have not overlooked the possibility, indeed probability, that the propaganda now being carried on, even if it fails to attain anything like the success hoped for being carried on, even if it fails to attain anything like the success hoped for by the leaders, will give rise in places to disturbances which cannot be quelled by the leaders will save by armed force. They have reason to believe that Gandhi himself is alive to this danger and is opposed for the present to say any resort to violence. It is known that violent methods were advocated at secret conferences at Nagpur but rejected on his advice, and that he and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru advised obedience to the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act in the districts which were proclaimed thereunder in the Punjab. It is doubtless recognised by men of this type that the only chance of bringing about any such demonstrations as would force the hands of the Government lies in careful organisation and preparation of the ground, and indeed Gandhi is reported to have made it clear that this was his view at the conference above referred to. But it is doubtful for how long Gandhi will be in a posit-position to restrain his followers, and in any caseexperience shows that the agitators have little control over the masses once the latter are roused to activity. Sporadic and unco-ordinated disturbances, however, will do more harm to the cause of the non-co-operators, than to the Government. Isolated outbreaks can be dealt with promptly and vigorously and they inevitably tend to frighten and alienate sympathy among the conservative and law abiding elements of the population. The possibility has also to be reckoned with that men like the Bengal ex-detenus will revive the campaign of assassination, which a few years ago was pursued in that Province and that assassinations of European officers such as that at Kheri, will be attempted: but such assassinations are at least as likely to follow the adoption of wholesale repression as the continuance of the present policy; and in the long run they will not help, but discredit the non-co-operation movement.

6. The Government of India therefore, whilst they realise that the time may come when it will be necessary to bring into play every weapon in their armoury, are inclined to think that for the present the activities of the non-co-operators can best be countered by methods that do not involve any wide resort to special and emergency legislation. It is a feature of the new constitution that the action of the Government, even in regard to subjects not committed to the charge of ministers, should be influenced by the views of the councils to a far greater extent than has been the case hither to; and the Government of India are not without hope that it may be possib[le] for them to meet the legitimate demands of the new Indian Legislature in a manner that should do much to ease the situation. The adoption of wholesale repression would be incompatible with this policy and would entirely nullify the healing effect which the introduction of the reforms might otherwise be expected to exercise. For the present therefore the Government of India would prefer to rely on measures such as--

(1) Keeping the closest possible watch on attempts by the non-co-operators to spread disaffection among the rural masses and the labouring classes in the big towns or industrial centres;

(2) The initiation and early enactment of remedial legislatio[n] wherever, as in the matter of Tenancy Law in some provinces, such legislation is required;

(3) counter-propaganda, as, for example, by giving the widest possible publicity to the intention of the Governme[nt] to introduce remidial measures;

(4) The vigorous prosecution under the ordinary law of the of all the persons who are guilty of making seditious speeches and of inciting to violence and against who[m] evidence is available. The Government of India have already urged this measure, to which they attach the most importance, on local Governments, and they must again express their regret that so far such prosecutions have been instituted only in a small number of cases. The Government of India have refrained, f[or] reasons that have been fully explained to local Gov[ern]ments from prosecuting the leaders on the genera[l]

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charge of advocating non-co-operation; but they must again impresson local Governments that this fact constitutes no reason for refraining from prosecuting the smaller men. The leaders can act only through their agents and the unremitting prosecution of the latter should therefore go far to rendering it increasingly difficult for the leaders to carry out their plan. Moreover, whilst the leaders are generally guarded in the their public speeches, this is not the case with their agents, often men of a low type, who are usually quite reckless and can therefore be more easily brought to book.

(5) The enforcement in general of respect for the law. Cases have come to the notice of the Government of India in which large crowds have been allowed to indulge with impunity in demonstrations of an obviously unlawful character. Incidents of this kind cannot but tend to weaken the respect for law and order amongst the masses of the people. It may not be always feasible to disperse unlawful assemblies with the force available at the moment and without recourse to the use of fire arms which would be justified only if necessary for the protection of life and property; but it should at least be practicable to prosecute many of the members of such bodies under section 143, I.P.C., and the Government of India trust that such prosecutions will invariably be instituted and promptly brought to trial.

7. Whilst however these are the views to which their own reading of the situation inclines them, the Government of India recognise that each local Government is in closer touch with the course of events in its own province than they can be, and that the circumstances and difficulties of the various province differ; and they would be glad, therefore, to be informed whether the local Government concur in their appreciation of the general situation and in the adequacy of the measures which have been outlined above, or whether they have reasons to believe that events will follow a course other than that which

which the Government of India anticipate, and have accordingly alternative proposals for the adoption of which they desire, to press.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) S.P.D.Downwell.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Government of India.
Home Department,
(Political)

D.O.No.237 Delhi, the 5th Febraury 1921.

Dear Sir,

As the General political situation is such as to give cause for anxiety, the Government of India desire to be placed without delay in possession of the view of the Government of Madras on Mr. O.Donnell's D.O. letter No.1256, dated the 28th January 1921, on the subject of the non-co-operation movement.

Yours sincerely,

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To
The Hon'ble Mr. A.R. Knapp, C.B.E., I.C.S.
Secretary to the Government of Madras.

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D.O. No.156 from the Govt of India d.28/30th Jan.

The letter referred to in para 1 is found at pp1 - 2 of the C.F. in the linked file.

2. This letter is the result of the deliberations of the Government of India on the Congress proceedings at Nagpur. They foresee the possibility that the N.C.O.s will harness to their uses the various economic grievances at present in existence. This contingency has already been foreseen in the case of Malabar, and it is possible that the fancied grievance of Resettlement may be exploited to a greater extent that heretofore. It has already been seen in Madras that the Labour Organisations here are to a considerable extent actuated by political motives c.f. their refusal to accept justice ...swami Sastri as Chairman of the proposed Labour Committee which ultimately was abandoned.

3. The proposed policy of the Govt. of India is outlined in para.6 of their letter.

As regards item 1 it is proposed to compile a Weekly Bulletin on the N.C.O. movement and an officer has been placed on special duty in the C.I.D. for this purpose. His endeavours as well as those of the district authorities will enable us to watch the progress of the movement amongst the rural masses. and with the additional help of the Commissioner of Labour will keep us informed on the labour movement.

Item 2-Legislation may be necessary in the case of Malabar. The Revenue Dept. may be consulted separately on this point.

Item 3-Counterpropaganda-The publicity officer will see to this.

Item 4-Prosecution-The leaders are to be immune. The smaller men are to be prosecuted! India regret that the permission to prosecute has been availed of only in very few cases. We have examined the possibility of prosecuting in some cases but have decided not to pursue the matter mainly on legal grounds partly also on grounds of expediency. We have decided